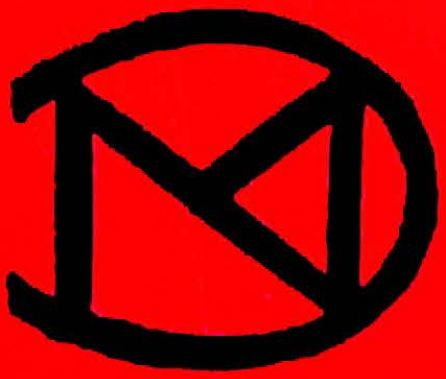
# MANIDEM



# PROGRAMME

# THE MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

**Kamerun :**
— Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and Students : 100 F CFA.
— Others : 1 000 F CFA.

**Abroad :** 20 FF.

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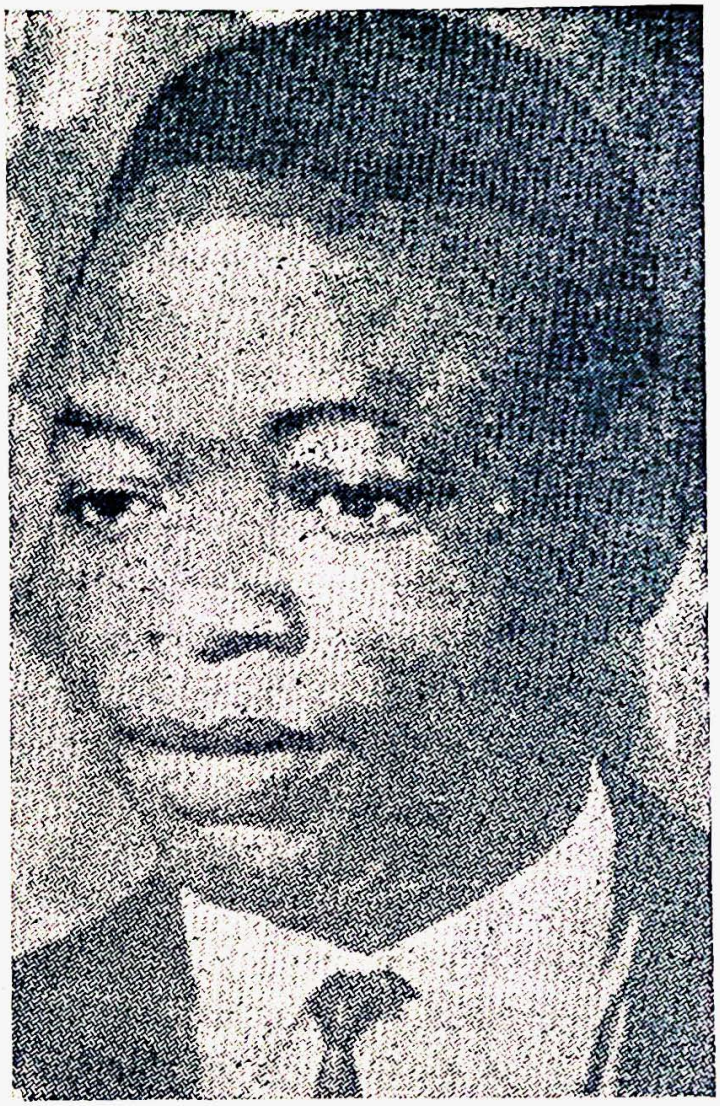
Special UPC Press
May 1980

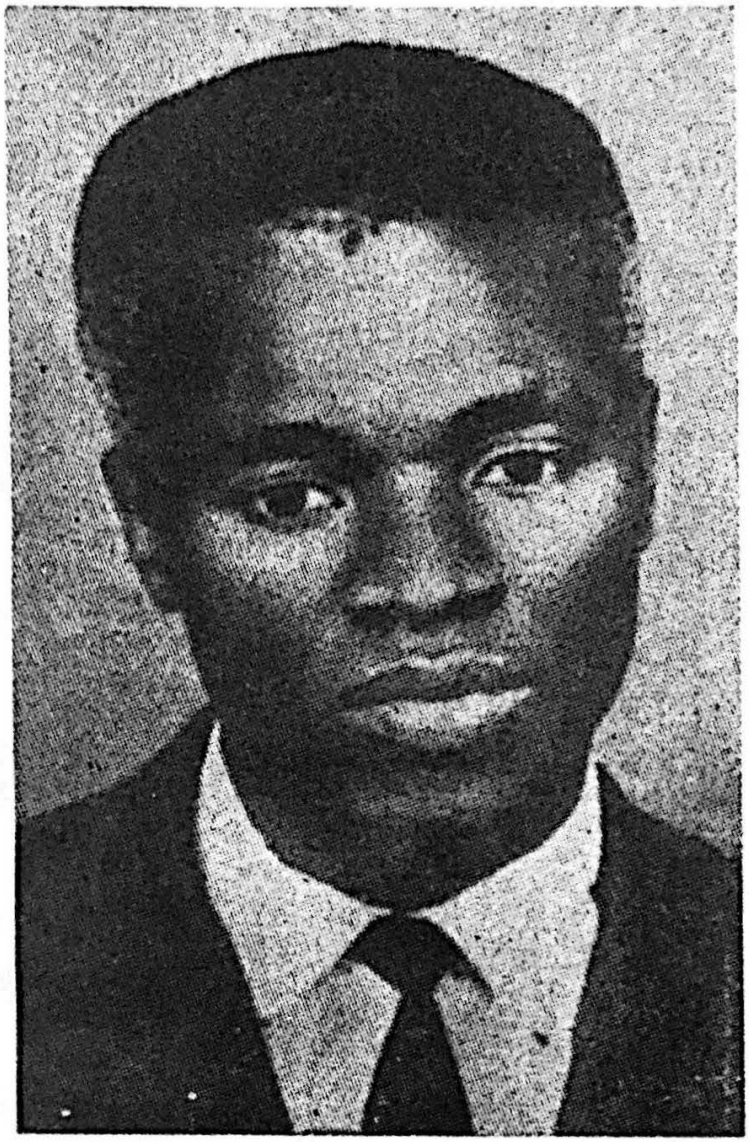


**RUBEN UM NYOBE** (1913-1958)

- *Founder and Secretary General of the « Union des Populations du Cameroun » (Cameroon People's Union), the UPC. Initiator of the Kamerunian People's struggle for National Re-Unification and Independence. Also called « The MPODOL » by the Popular masses.*
- *Vice-President of the « Rassemblement Démocratique Africain » (African Democratic Rally), the RDA, which the traitor Houphouët-Boigny sold afterwards to the French colonialists.*
- *Assassinated on September* 13, 1958, *by the French neo-colonialists and their puppet Ahidjo Birawandu Kaado.*

**FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE** (1925-1960)

- *One of the Great Builders of the UPC, of which he has been the President from 1952 to his death.*
- *Emeritus Militant of the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, for Africa's Liberation.*
- *President Moumié was assassinated on November 3, 1960, by the French neo-colonialists and their puppet Ahidjo Birawandu Kaado.*



**ERNEST OUANDIE** (1924-1971)

- *One of the Great Builders of the UPC and Pioneers of the Kamerunian People's struggle for Freedom.*
- *Vice-President of the UPC and, after President Moumié's assassination, he was elected President of the Revolutionary Committee of the UPC on September* 13, 1962.
- *President Ouandié was assassinated on January* 15, 1971, *by the NCU bourgeois gang of Ahidjo Birawandu Kaado with the support of the French neo-colonialists.*

## BASIC ABREVIATIONS

**UPC :** abreviated for the French « **U**nion des **P**opulations du **C**ameroun (the Cameroon People's Union). It is the Kamerunian workers' party. In French, its members are usually called the « upécistes ».

**MANIDEM :** abreviated for **MANI**FESTO for **DEM**OCRACY. It is the popular United-Front around the UPC in order to fight neo-colonialism and the anti-people bourgeois dictatorship.

**NCU :** so-called « Cameroun National Union », but really means « **N**eo-**C**olonial **U**nion ». It is the party of the Kamerunian neo-colonial bourgeoisie. Supported by the French, British, American, German and other imperialists. It is a fascist party ; the single party of the eternal single candidate Ahidjo Birawandu Kaado and his gang.

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# FOREWORD BY THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (NRC)

**(Central Steering Organ of the MANIDEM Movement)**

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KAMERUNIAN PEOPLE !

This is the MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. It is the Programme, brought up to date, of the struggle against the bloody regime of misery which has been raging in our Country for more than twenty years. It is also the Programme of the construction of a NEW KAMERUN, DEMOCRATIC and POPULAR, marching towards SOCIALISM.

This PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION PROGRAMME has been discussed and improved during a public debate which lasted more than one year. It then was adopted democratically and almost unanimously by the active members of the MANIDEM Movement (MANIDEM Activists).

The MANIDEM General Programme for Transition to Socialism conveys the claims of the Kamerunian masses today. It shows the way to the sound solution of the serious difficulties which are crushing the working-class, the poor peasants, the minor employees and the minor civil servants (including the rank and file police men, soldiers and gendarmes), the petty traders, all the manual and intellectual workers and more particularly the Youth and the women of Kamerun.

It explains with clarity how our Country will start its march towards socialism in order to get out of underdevelopment and pull itself out of the deadlocks where

it has been sinking more and more as a result of misgovernment by the wicked corrupted bourgeois regime of Ahidjo's NCU.

Every Kamerunian, man or woman, who considers himself a responsible person and who feels concerned for the interests of the Country, must read and study throughly the MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. So will he be able to compare this Programme with the cheating propaganda of the stranger's lackeys and have a correct opinion about the Country's affairs. And so will he be able to understand better, thanks to the clear and simple explanations given by the MANIDEM Programme, the great political, economic, social and cultural problems faced not only by the Kamerun under its present neo-colonial regime, but by the whole of Africa sticken with the same plague of neo-colonialism.

In his « SOLEMN APPEAL TO THE KAMERUNIAN PEOPLE » of January the 15th (published in « THE VOICE OF KAMERUN » n° 14 of January 1980), the Revolutionary Committee of the U.P.C. underlined the fact that the task of spreading and explaining the MANIDEM PROGRAMME among the masses of the people must be considered as a task of prime importance. Of course, the stranger's lackeys who are governing the Country will endeavour by all means to prevent the Kamerunians from having knowledge of the MANIDEM PROGRAMME. These foolish people only want to keep the masses in obscurity and ignorance in order to better continue cheating them. The MANIDEM PROGRAMME is a real danger for the NCU bourgeois clique because it throws the light in fact on all the main political problems of the Kamerun and of Africa, and consequently bares all the aspects of the anti-national and anti-popular dirty policy of Ahidjo Birawandu's party as well as it bares the dirty policy of the other african neo-colonial bourgeoisies.

Nevertheless, all the attempts which will be made by

the puppets of neo-colonialism in order to check the spreading of the MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM will inevitably and lamentably fail !

The « truth travels without passport » ; so used to say one of our national heroes, Ernest OUANDIE, cowardly assassinated on the 15th of January 1971 by the criminal gang of Ahidjo Birawandu Ahmet and his wicked french imperialist masters.

The MANIDEM PROGRAMME is the torch which will light the workers of the towns and villages of our Country along their struggle for social justice and welfare. It is the arms of the whole Youth of Kamerun in their fight for Democracy, Progress and Socialism.

As it is today, the MANIDEM PROGRAMME does not pretend to be perfect. The Kamerunian revolutionary movement means to confirm more than ever its genuine democratic nature. The Kamerunians are fed up with the NCU political gangsters who speak of « democracy » while practising real fascism and State-terrorism ! That is why the UPC and the MANIDEM Movement will remain attentive to all positive criticisms, to all proposals made in good faith and aiming to improve this Programme and to bring a contribution to the building up of a NEW KAMERUN.

As it has already been assured by the Revolutionary Committee of the UPC, it will be possible to amend and enrich the MANIDEM PROGRAMME when the masses will have won victory over the corrupted regime of Ahidjo's NCU. However, immediately after the overthrow of this anti-national and people-hating regime, and without waiting for such amendments, THE MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM WILL ORIENTATE IN ALL FIELDS THE WORK OF THE WHOLE KAMERUNIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT LED BY THE UPC AS WELL AS THE ACTIVITY OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S STATE OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.

KAMERUNIAN PEOPLE !

Your victory has been postponed up to now, but it is absolutely inevitable. Neither your legitimate dignity nor your happiness can be found with this neo-colonial « Cameroons » steeped in terror and misery by the lackeys of the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries. You can expect nothing good from the criminal clique which has been misgoverning the Country with violence and trickery and as achieved nothing but filling up its pockets and giving up the Country to the strangers' plundering while sacrificing your Youth.

All your children, men and women, who have their heart set on your interests and your honour, must mobilize and rally the MANIDEM MOVEMENT in order to down and destroy the Slave-State of Ahidjo's NCU and establish a NEW KAMERUN, a People's Democracy, marching towards SOCIALISM.

The MANIDEM MOVEMENT is the train of the Democratic change for transition to Socialism !

The UPC. the Immortal Soul of the Kamerunian People, is the locomotive of the MANIDEM Movement !

FORWARDS WITH THE MANIDEM !

THE MANIDEM WILL WIN !

**The NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL**
(Central Steering Organ of the
MANIDEM Movement)

February, 1980.

# THE MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM (1)

1) For such numbers all through the text, see the LEXICON at the end. This Glossary gives an explanation to the terms and expressions concerned.

# INTRODUCTION

## NEW PHASE ! NEW PROGRAMME !

**AFRICA is now in the era of Neo-Colonialism (2) and of popular struggles against this new form of imperialist domination (3).**

Of course, its southern part (Namibia, South Africa) is still under Nazi (4) colonial regimes of white minorities. But even there imperialism is already trying to set up regimes of negro puppets. These would then be manipulated by international financial capital (5). In spite of appearances, the problem of the liberation of Southern Africa from the racist settlers' regimes is already basically changing. It has become a problem of neo-colonialism. In Namibia, this is absolutely obvious. And even in South Africa, this aspect has become from now on the main point in the liberation problem. Only those who do not have a historical vision of things do not see this fundamental truth.

There are principally two conditions under which neo-colonialism develops. The first is the development of capitalism (6). The second, which derives from the first, is the increasing division of the African society into social classes (7). These classes have more and more opposed interests and aspirations. A neocolonial (8), bureaucratic (9) and comprador (10) bourgeoisie, is totally bound to imperialism. It crushes the workers by exploitation, oppression and repression. Consequently, contrary to the period of struggle against old colonialism, this

bourgeoisie is unable to carry any struggle for real liberation, a popular one, for Africa. On the contrary, it contributes to enslave our Continent.

**The African Revolution has entered into a new phase, in which only two ways are offered : neocolonialism or socialism** (11).

Under old colonialism, the dominating aspect of popular combat consisted in the struggle to oust the imperialists from Africa. It was above all a question of putting an end to direct domination of foreign colonialists in our Continent. All the social classes could unite in this combat. But since formal independence (12) of the 1960's, the neocolonialism system has been installed by the imperialists. In this phase, the African bourgeoisie holds a policy of exploitation of the workers and peasants. It shares the fruits of this exploitation with foreign imperialism, whilst the people have nothing to live on. In order to continue without end this anti-popular policy, these exploiters have installed police and bloody dictatorships almost everywhere in Africa. These regimes don't recognize any rights to the African Peoples. That is why, under neocolonialism, the dominating aspect of the popular combat in Africa is now the **class struggle** (13). Foreign imperialism remains the main ally and support to the African bourgeoisie, and it continues to exploit Africa. But workers and poor peasants should from now on, direct the point of their combat, first of all, against African bourgeoisie. Because their victory against the neocolonial domination of imperialism is henceforth impossible without their victory over the African bourgeoisie. All the classes of African society can no more seriously unite against foreign domination. Their fundamental interests are more than ever opposed. Anyone who pretends the contrary, is betraying the workers.

**At the present time, workers and poor peasants make**

**up the fundamental social forces of the African Revolution. Their stuggle companions are the radicalized elements from the town petty-bourgeoisie** (14) **who have given up trying to imitate the high bourgeois.**

The reason why the African working class is the only revolutionary class to the end, is because capitalism is spreading in Africa. Now, in a capitalist society, only the working class possesses nothing else but its work force whilst submitting to the hardest exploitation from the capitalists. As they have nothing but their work force, even though they unceasingly produce wealth, workers have nothing to loose in a revolutionary change. They can only gain from such a change. Better still, this objective position (15) of the working class makes it the class the most interested in a change. It designates the working class as the leading force of the Revolution.

Even though it possesses a little ground, the poor peasantry is the fundamental force for any revolutionary change in Africa. It is the main ally of the working class in the Revolution against neocolonialism. There are at least four reasons for this. The first, is that the poor peasantry is still the largest class in Africa : about 80 % of the whole population. The second reason is that, the more capitalism spreads, the more it hits the poor peasants and ruins them. It transforms them more and more into workers. This pushes poor peasants into drawing nearer and nearer to the workers' point of view. The third reason is that, in Africa, except for a few rare exceptions, there has not been big landownership, feudal landownership (16). A direct passage took place from the community land ownership (by the village or the clan) to private individual ownership. One of the consequences (among others) of this phenomenon is that, very often, the workers still keep staunch social ties with the village peasantry. The fourth reason is that the African poor

peasants are forced into a commercial economy (17). Yet they do not have any monetary income worthy of this name. The consequence is that they are plunged into daily poverty, sometimes even more deeper than that of the workers.. Nevertheless, workers' life is surely not very enviable as it is.

There is therefore on one side the African neo-colonial bourgeoisie in power, backed up by foreign imperialism. On the other side, the working class and the poor peasantry. Between these two fundamental camps, are millions of people from the petty-bourgeoisie. These are medium peasants, small tradesmen, minor civil servants, private minor employees, students, and intellectuals. These are also soldiers, non-commissioned officers, subaltern officers and equivalents serving the government, etc...

The behaviour of the whole of this petty-bourgeoisie is similar in all countries all through the world, and also in Africa. This behaviour presents a double contradictory nature. On the one hand, the petty-bourgeoisie sympathizes with the sufferings of the People, but on the other hand, it is dazzled by the luxurious life of the upper-bourgeoisie. However, according to strata and circumstances, its behaviour varies.

The intellectual petty-bourgeoisie upon leaving universities and colleges finds employment as managerial staff. For this reason, it has a strong tendency to line up on the side of the bourgeoisie, while declaring at the same time its sympathies towards the People. In general, it despises the People, whom it thinks uncapable of liberating itself. The democratic elements of this stratum often think that the People has only to entrust itself to them and they will be the one who will liberate the workers and peasants. But in all accounts, besides a few exceptions, this stratum enters into the service of the strongest of the moment.

The other strata of the petty-bourgeoisie are in a more difficult social position. Their hatred of the bourgeoisie dictatorship can therefore prevail (and often prevails) over their hesitations. From this fact, their tendency to the struggle is generally stronger. However, this tendency to the struggle often remains quite erratic. In order that it becomes an effective revolutionary struggle, the Revolutionary Movement must inveigle these strata. In order to do this, the Revolutionary Movement should define a fair policy for class alliance (18). It should also define a well-adapted, coherent and applicable strategy (19). It should then lead a dynamic, coherent and permanent action of sensitization, organization and political mobilization of all these social groups.

**On world scale, nowadays, the class struggle opposes fundamentally the forces of capitalism on the one side, to those of socialism on the other side.**

The African neocolonial bourgeoisie has its friends and allies on world scale. These are imperialist and capitalist forces for the most part. These forces intervene unceasingly in Africa, sometimes militarily. The objectives of their interventions are to safeguard the African bourgeois regimes which are hated and menaced by the African Peoples. The fundamental reason for this imperialist support to African bourgeois governments is the following. These governments deliver to the imperialists the riches of Africa : raw materials (20) and others. In fact, the imperialists have a vital need for these riches, and imperialist countries do not possess enough of them or not at all. Therefore, they must go and plunder them from others, and they come in particular in Africa.

Other allies and friends of the African neocolonial bourgeoisies are certain false socialists who are constantly hesitating between capitalism and socialism. They call themselves Social-Democrats (21), and form the International Social-Democracy (22). In reality, they are nearer

to imperialism and the bourgeoisie, than to Socialism and the African workers. They participate in fact with pleasure to the reactionary (23) policy of the imperialists of their country against the African Peoples. Their hypocritical tactic consists from now, of trying to create in Africa itself an African Social-Democracy (24), which will make profession of allegiance to the International Social-Democracy.

The fundamental aim of all these forces (imperialists, capitalist in general, Social-Democrats, ...) is clear. It's the upholding of capitalism. It's the continuation for ever of the exploitation of the African Peoples, the riches of Africa, under one form or another.

The workers and the poor peasants also have their friends and allies on world scale. These are first of all the Socialist countries (25), the Communist Parties (26) and other forces of Socialism in the capitalist countries. These are also the genuine democrats of the whole world. These are also the Peoples of the whole world, who are struggling for their own national liberation from neocolonialist or colonialist domination.

The fundamental aim of all these forces is social justice, the well-being of the People and peace. This is only possible with the end of imperialism, the overthrowing of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. The matter is to put an end to any exploitation of man by man. It is a matter of succeeding in an authentic liberation of each People and each country. The matter is to set up an authentic friendship and a genuine peace between the Peoples through the world.

**In such a new situation, it is absolutely necessary that the fundamental principles and the aims of the Kamerunian Revolution, in its present phase, be always better clarified.**

This is why, with the members of the UPC (the Cameroon People's Union), the Activists gathered within the MANIDEM Movement as a revolutionary mass-movement linked to the UPC, adopt the present **PROGRAMME OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.** Once the neo-colonial bourgeois regime of the NCU (National Cameroun Union) will have been overthrown, this PROGRAMME will permit to drive towards and authentic WORKERS' AND POOR PEASANTS' POWER. This will be a power of all those who work without exploiting anyone : a Power leading our country to socialism.

With the members of the UPC, the MANIDEM Activists put this Programme forward as a proposal to all workers, poor peasants and all other Kamerunians. All the working classes as a whole should mobilize themselves, with the aim to liberate completely the country. A condition for this to happen is that the workers and poor peasants should take the lead of a powerful REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. This Movement is directed against the Kamerunian bourgeoisie and its allies, who are represented at the present time by the Cameroon National Union (the NCU) of Ahidjo Birawandu.

★ ★

**In every political struggle, the question of the Programme is fundamental.** Every revolutionary struggle is supposed to develop for the defence of the interests and aspirations of the popular masses. For such a struggle, the PROGRAMME is essential. Why are we struggling ? This is the fundamental question to which the Programme must clearly reply.

In every country, and also in Kamerun, society develops under the action of social forces (27). The social forces

operate particularly on the political level, through organizations and individuals. The organizations which represent the various social forces defend their interests ; they try to satisfy their aspirations. **As in every country, in Kamerun, the various social forces and their political organizations (when there are any), have very characteristic different attitudes relating to their Programme.**

**The Kamerunian neocolonial bourgeoisie has no proclaimed Programme. But in fact, it has a « double Programme » which is veiled and hidden.**

**On the one hand, it has a real Programme,** which is to defend the imperialists' and its own interests. Through this Programme, it delivers our riches to the imperialists, and it becomes itself rich thanks to the crumbs from the neocolonial pillage. **This real Programme is never declared by the bourgeoisie. It never admits it.** On the contrary, it forces itself to hide it by swearing to the high gods that it is working for the well-being of all « the Nation ». But everyone can see the results. A handful of people grow frantically rich and at the same time, nearly the whole of the People's poverty gets worse. The National Economy and all the country are always widely under foreign domination. Thus, when the bourgeois say that « the country is advancing », that « the Nation is growing rich », this means that the bourgeois are growing rich and the People are growing poorer.

**On the other hand, the bourgeoisie has a fictitious Programme.** This Programme is summed up by general demagogic declarations, a phraseology empty of any sense, with confusing words. Often, all this turns into a pure and simple jargon. One talks of « planned liberalism, autocentred development in concentric circles of solidarity, universal civilization, dialogue philosophy, revolutionary reformism of the Great Comrade sent by God to the People, etc., etc...) ». This bourgeois fictitious Programme,

these high-sounding but empty slogans, have one particular aim. The aim is to bewilder the popular masses by lies and impostures. Occasionally there are attempts at astounding the People with « great words » and « learned words ».

This is what the bourgeois do concerning the Programme question.

**The Kamerunian petty-bourgeoisie, on its side, has always been incapable of organizing itself into a proper political party against neo-colonial repression.** In its overwhelming majority, this class passively submits without doing anything to the fascist bourgeois dictatorship of the NCU of Ahidjo Birawandu and his clique. Or else it just simply participates in this dictatorship, especially the intellectuals out of Universities and Colleges of university level specializing in professional training.

However, there are some elements of this petty-bourgeoisie who, as free-lancers, openly oppose the bourgeois regime and more hypocritically the UPC. But they are incapable of organizing a party worthy of the name. **This finds expression in an incapability to put forward a coherent political Programme.** Therefore, their attitude on the fundamental question of the Programme is the following one : never be clear, and practice demagogy. Demagogy is often conveyed in a phraseology that wants to be « nationalist ». It uses vague proclamations sometimes purely sentimental. But when the question arises on precisely defining the New Regime that they wish to instal, there is a complete ambiguity. « Rupture with neo-colonialism » is talked of, without ever referring to Socialism. One is satisfied with slipping here and there, as if on the sly, a phrase on « the necessity of a social property of the means of production ».

In short, the petty-bourgeois intellectual free-lancers

« play at politics ». What decides their « political action » is a belief. Each of them believes in a charisma (28) and thinks himself a « charismatic leader ». This belief in a charisma arises from certain diplomas or certificates sometimes obtained with difficulties. These little diplomas and certificates make them get excited, a little as if they had drunk too much palm wine. They think that the popular masses are too stupid and too uncultivated. And that they wouldn't know the difference between truth and untruths, between what is clear and what is not clear. They have therefore the same scornfull mentality towards the popular masses, as the bourgeoisie and the colonialists. It is a colonial mentality.

That is what the opportunist petty-bourgeois do concerning the fundamental question of the Programme.

**As for the UPC, since its founding, it has always held a clear and sound position on the Programme question. Because it has always been the political organization which defends the interests and expresses the aspirations of the workers, poor peasants and all Kamerunian labourers.** Thus, in 1948 the present bourgeois were already in the hands of the colonialists. They were already fighting against our country. The UPC claimed : Immediate Reunification and Independence of the country are necessary. In 1960, many of the opportunist petty-bourgeois intellectuals grew tired of the struggle. They declared : we struggled for the colonialists to leave ; they have gone ; so why continue to fight ? But the UPC said : it is not a genuine independence. The People are going to live suffering and great poverty. The struggle must therefore continue. Now, all that the UPC forecasted has taken place.

Today, nearly 20 years have gone by since neo-colonial independence of 1960. Everything is going from bad to worse for the People. The patriots who want to struggle for a true popular change, are organized in the MANIDEM

Movement guided by the UPC. The MANIDEM PROGRAMME should therefore be grounded on genuine problems and aspirations of the Kamerunian workers. This Programme should be a tool for mobilization and struggle for the popular masses. That is why it should be clear and simple. That is why it should explain things as clearly as possible. These are the reasons why the MANIDEM PROGRAMME embraces an **Introduction** and three parts.

In **Part One**, the Programme recalls the origins of the present situation in Africa, and particularly in Kamerun. It shows how our society evolves in general, and particularly since « Independence » in 1960. It clearly says which of the various social forces, in depth and on the surface, make the country go in such or such a direction. It reveals the mechanisms that make the present situation exist in our country. It shows that this situation may last if the workers are satisfied by just saying « everything goes badly », without doing anything to change it. It shows in fact how the Kamerunian bourgeoisie and its foreign friends set about keeping the People in poverty. The Programme finally shows, in Part I, how the workers and the whole Kamerunian People should overthrow, and will inevitably overthrow the bourgeoisie and its evil regime. Once this evil regime has been overthrown, the New Regime of labourers must give satisfaction to the workers, the poor peasants and the mass of all the People.

In **Part Two**, the MANIDEM PROGRAMME recalls the fundamental needs of the People, which should absolutely be satisfied. It shows in every possible detail, the decisions which should be taken by the New Regime. It shows the new policy which will be applied anyhow. Because it is the only policy which can permit the workers', peasants' and other labourers' situation change into better. It is the only policy which can permit the needs of our People as a whole to be satisfied. The MANIDEM PROGRAMME puts clearly how the State Power can be orga-

nized in order to truly stay in the labourers' hands. It says plainly the necessary conditions for the African Peoples to recover their genuine Independence and their flouted dignity.

In **Part Three**, the MANIDEM PROGRAMME shows the measures to be taken immediatly in order to satisfy the most urgent needs of the People. The NCU government of Ahidjo Birawandu and is accomplices should satisfy these urgent needs of our People. The financial means for this exist, produced by the hard labour of the Kamerunian labourers. And our People has a right to a better life, immediately, from now on.

Indeed, the popular measures shown in Part II, can not be satisfied by a government of thieves and gangsters like the NCU one. Neither by any bourgeois government. Yet the situation of our People is so catastrophic, that it is impossible to defer until later, pending the popular government.

And finally, annexed to the PROGRAMME, a small **Lexicon** explaining all the terms, all the expressions that each patriot needs to know the signification of, in order to fully understand the PROGRAMME.

Thus, the MANIDEM PROGRAMME will be a complete instrument for a good political and revolutionary initiation for the labourers and youth of our country.

# PART I

## FOR A FULL COMPREHENSION OF THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

1.- Africa's first encounter with capitalism was the Slave-Trade (29). The Slave-Trade lasted through all the period of the birth of capitalism in Europe and America. During this period, it served in a fundamental way for the primitive accumulation of capital (30). Then it continued for a good part of the free competitive capitalism (31). In all, this Traffic lasted from the 15th century up until the end of the 19th century. Africa was at that time ill-used, pillaged and all its best human productive forces (32) were nearly completely exhausted. Even today, in the last quarter of the 20th century, the Slave-Trade still continues, under some forms, in several Middle-East reactionary countries. But the African Peoples have always valiantly resisted slave-traders.

2 - At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20 th, capitalism reached the imperialist stage in Europe. Imperialism, is the stage of capitalism where the monopolies (33) dominate from then onward the economy. At this stage, bank capital (34) and industrial capital (35) have brought into effect their fusion as financial capital (36). The latter is then in hands of an oligarchy (37) which enslaves the economy and all social life. At the imperialist period, a keen competition deve

lops between the monopolies of the various countries in Europe and America. This competition pushes these countries to massively export capital to foreign countries. This exportation aims at realizing enormous and scandalous profits off the Peoples' back. But the imperialists hide this truth behind a hypocritical « investments policy », then a so-called « Aid to developing countries ». Imperialism is the period when the monopolies of these pillager countries unite into giant multinational companies (38). These companies conspire widely, whilst quarreling when no risk exists for their common interests. They divide the whole world into various « game preserves » (39). It is the period when the various imperialist countries proceed to acts of gangsterism which are the territorial sharing out and resharing out of the world. They spread in this way their domination over colonies, semi-colonies and « influencial zones » (40).

The imperialists have thus, at the end of the 19th century, directly invaded Africa. They were looking for raw materials and markets. They shared out between themselves by force the Continent between different West-European countries : this was colonialism. The African Peoples valiantly resisted colonialism. Particularly the Kamerunian People, as early as the beginning of the German invasion in 1884. Colonialist implantation in Kamerun started particularly by the pillage of vast Kamerunian land by the Germans. The Kamerunian People opposed this pillaging, weapons in hand.

**3.-** The period of colonialist domination and oppression in Africa lasted on the whole until the beginning of the 1960's. It is marked by terrible sufferings by the African Peoples. The exploitation and pillage of Africa, as human as material, are ferocious. Never has a Continent suffered such exploitation, such pillage and such oppression in the History of Mankind.

4.- The contradictions of imperialism provoke the First and then the Second World Wars. The African Peoples participate in these wars, in the name of freedom ideals. In fact, this was a thumping dupery from the imperialists, an authentic historical imposture. For after each of these wars, the imperialists, winners or losers, agreed once more against Africa. They organized once more, with renewed vigour, hand in hand, the pursuit of their exploiting system of the African Peoples.

5.- World War I (1914-1918) resulted, among other things, in the birth of the first Socialist State in the world : the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This birth was the work of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 in Russia. The October Revolution was prepared for years, and led by the Russian workers, essentially organized by the Bolshevik Party (41) headed by Lenin. It received benefit by support from all conscious workers of the whole world. This was a considerable and tremendous event of universal effect. It changed completely the fundamental datas of class struggle on the world scale. From now on and for the first time, a proof has been made, not only in theory, but also in practice. This proof was that the bourgeoisie and its capitalist system could be overthrown. And also that the transition could be started towards another social system : Socialism, first stage towards the Communist society (42).

6.- After World War II (1939-1945), two main events marked the evolution of the situation in the world. On one hand, it was the extension of the Socialist system to more than a dozen countries in Europe, Asia and later in America. On the other hand, it was the awakening and irresistible development of the National Liberation Movement of the colonized Peoples. These two events mark the start of the total collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

7. - But imperialism becomes conscious of the necessarily anti-capitalist evolution in course of time, of the struggles by the National Liberation Movement of the colonized Peoples. That is why it tries to save what is fundamental in its system of exploitation and domination. It then helps under its control, the ascent of the African bourgeois classes. And at the same time, it provokes an even bigger parcelling out of Africa. It thus sets in place a new form of its system : Neocolonialism.

Under this new form of colonialism, the African bourgeoisies are entrusted the State apparatus (43) of countries which have reconquered juridic independence. The fundamental mission of these African neocolonial bourgeoisies is simple. It is to keep AFRICA « solidly bound to the Western World », that is to say, imperialist exploitation. For this and in this framework, they develop an « under-development capitalism », by crushing the African workers with exploitation and oppression.

The African neocolonial bourgeoisie is therefore, above all, the class which is the historical agent (44) in the new form of imperialist domination in Africa. This is why, **the fondamental difference between former colonialism and neo-colonialism is the following : under neocolonialism, the class struggle goes to the fore with regard to the National Liberation aspect, in the combat of the African Peoples. The struggle for social emancipation of the workers becomes the DRIVING-POWER of the African Revolution.**

8. - In KAMERUN, this neocolonial system finds its genesis in the following main political events :

— **May 1955 :** The Kamerunian People, led since 1948 by its party, the Cameroon People's Union (the UPC), demonstrates its determination to obtain immediate Reunification and Independence of the country. In response to

this pacific determination, the French colonialists launch criminal massacres which make more than 5,000 deaths in the country.

— **July 13, 1955 :** the French colonialist government decides to ban the UPC and its mass-organizations : the Democratic Union of Camerounian Women (the UDEFEC), and the Democratic Youth of Cameroun (the JDC). The colonialists were helped in their manœuvre by the African reactionaries of the Houphouët-Boigny's group who were then heading the African Democratic Rally (the RDA). The way was henceforth opened in order « to fill in the legal political vacuum » brought on by the prohibition of the UPC.

— **1956-1957 :** sudden appearance, in the front of the Kamerunian political scene, of individuals up until then non-existent. They have been fabricated at all points by the French colonialists. They are : André-Marie MBIDA and Ahmadou AHIDJO.

— **February 20, 1958 :** the French impose Ahidjo as « Prime Minister of the State under trusteeship of Cameroun ».

— **September 13, 1958 :** with the complicity of Ahidjo and his friends, the French colonialists assassinate Ruben UM NYOBE, Founder and Secretary General of the UPC, Pioneer of the Kamerunian People's struggle for National Independence and Reunification, Father of the Kamerunian Nation. From this moment on, the French colonialists hypocritically proclaim that they rally to the idea of the independence of Kamerun. But it has been completely emptied of its popular contents.

— **January 1, 1960 :** a fictitious independence is proclaimed. During this time, the French colonial troops, with Ahidjo's endorsement, carry out In Kamerun a war of extermination of patriots with notorious aspects of ra-

cism. Before this proclamation, the French bourgeoisie signed with Ahidjo and the Kamerunian reaction, from 1959, a series of Unequal Treaties (45). These Treaties, called « Co-operation and Technical Assistance Agreements », reduce in advance to zero the independence of the country.

9. - In spite of the proclaimed independence in 1960, Kamerun remains a country dominated by imperialism, mainly French and British imperialism.

Capitalism, introduced by the colonialists, is developing at a regular rhythm. It is here and now the dominating mode of production (46). Production becomes more and more a production of merchandise, a production for sale. This production brings more and more in opposition two social classes : the capitalist class and the working class (proletarians and semi-proletarians) (47). The capitalist class is that of the Kamerunian bourgeois and foreigners allied to the formers. The working-class comprises the workers in factories, mills, mines and sites. It comprises also the transport workers (railway employees, dockers, ...), agricultural workers, those in forestry and others...

The opposition between capitalists and workers is founded on the following essential fact. The capitalists possess the largest part of the means of production (48) and exchange (49) : all the factories and mills, part of land, banks, etc... The workers use these means in order to produce the wealth with which the bourgeois live. But the workers only possess essentially their work force (50) which they sell to the capitalists for meagre salaries. These salaries hardly allow them to survive in a misery more and more appaling. Whilst at the same time, the bourgeois lead with impudence a more and more luxurious life.

**10.** - But the capitalist mode of production is only at the beginning of its development in Kamerun. For this reason, there subsists still a large mass of the population which is peasant. This mass constitutes for the capitalists a great reservoir of cheap labour. The Kamerunian peasantry represents still nearly 80 % of the country's population. This mass of people is in a catastrophical situation. For the average of their land is not larger than 8 acres.

Due to the so-called « Green Revolution », this situation has been worsened these last years by expropriation of peasants' lands. The latters then become farm-labourers, with miserable wages when they get a job. And, even when they have a plot of a large dimension, many peasants can not really derive the necessary ressources in order to develop the land. This really reduces their possibilities to live correctly. They are mostly poor peasants. Only a tiny minority of the peasantry are truly rich peasants of land-owners (51) who « live well ». They are the feudalists of the North and the West, the traditional chiefs, the big leading citizens and the new bourgeois in the South. And only a feeble proportion can be classed as middle-peasants who only just manage to « make ends meet ».

Great amounts of land are still in the hands of the colonialists, churches, feudalists and leading citizens. And large State agro-industrial concerns (52) are in the hands of the Kamerunian bourgeois. On this land and in these concerns, the agricultural labourers sell their work force for a « dog's life ». As for those in factories, they don't possess or nearly possess a parcel of land. And for such, these agricultural labourers create wealth with which the bourgeois live as authentic « new colonialists with a black skin ».

**11.** - Owing to the development of capitalism, the economic systems which existed before, tend to disappear more and more. The speed of this process is however

unequal according to regions. But the development of capitalism is strongly determined by imperialist domination, and it goes at a relatively slow rhythm. For these reasons, this disappearance presents the following characters. A large mass of peasants, artisans and youth are progressively ruined and consequently proletarianized (53). They no longer have or do not have any land. They must therefore quit the countryside and look for a job in towns, in factories, on sites, in the State agro-industrial concerns which are in the hands of the bourgeois. Some go to the plantations of rich-peasants or land-owners. Or else they must work in offices or commerce, etc...Now, the imperialist domination on the country imposes deformations to the development of capitalism in Kamerun. All this leads to a policy which is not popular. This policy is in particular characterized by a limited creation of an insignificant and relatively decreasing number of jobs in the whole socio-economic activity. The consequence is that hundreds of thousands of peasants and young country-people find themselves without employment. Each year, they add to the army of unemployed and wretches of small and large towns : it is **the** rural exodus. Its importance is unequal according to regions, because of the unequal capitalist development of the latters. This exodus thus creates a true « industrial reserve army » (54). The capitalists use this « army » as unemployment blackmail to the workers in the factories, sites, mines, plantations, etc... and on wage-earners in general. This blackmail has for its aim to put a break on the impulse of all workers towards the struggle for better conditions in life.

**12.-** Because of the recent character of the development of capitalism in Kamerun, the peasant problem still holds a central place in our country.

If it is considered in the frame of the Kamerunian

Revolution, the peasant problem should be approached and essentially resolved from the following facts :

1°/ Although recent, the current dominant tendency is the development of capitalist relations (55) in the countryside.

2°/ Here and now, in the biggest part of the country, and even though this is also quite recent, land is under individual private ownership.

3°/ The precise system of land-ownership remains relatively variable according to regions. There is the land-ownership of feudal sort by the Lamibé from the North (56), by the Sultans of the Nort-West and traditional chiefs named « Fons » in the Bamiléké region. Then a capitalist ownership of vast rich lands by the traditional chiefs and fat bourgeois from the South. There is also a capitalist ownership of vast rich lands by the settlers and the churches in different regions. The bourgeois government has « nationalized » land, often by simple shameful expropriation of peasants in certain regions. And finally, there are the small family holdings of poor and middle peasants.

4°/ Because of the development of capitalism, land has become a merchandise. The consequence of this, is that a more and more important fraction of the population is without land. And more, land speculation (57) around towns even small ones, but also in the countryside, becomes more and more part of social life. The development of this situation is unequal according to the regions. Better still, in certain regions, there is no problem of land possession. But the dominating tendency and what happens is well described here.

5°/ The agrarian policy of the NCU regime aims clearly at cynically deceiving the small peasants. It consists of creating a land-owning bourgeoisie possessing privately

vast lands, by the side of nationalized properties also in the hands of the State bourgeoisie.

**13.** - Capitalism comes into Kamerun and develops in the mid of the imperialist period. It is a neocolonial capitalism. But this birth and development also take place in the middle of the Revolution for Social and National Liberation on the African scale. For all these reasons, the African neocolonial bourgeoisie is, from its birth, disqualified as a liberation force against neocolonialism. Contrarily to the European bourgeoisie in the 19th century, the African neo-colonial bourgeoisie is incapable of leading an authentic national policy. The only policy of which it is capable consists of allying together and submit to foreign imperialism. It oppresses the working-class, the poor peasantry and the other labouring classes in Africa.

This is why **a solid political alliance is necessary and possible between the working-class and the poor peasants, in their struggle for their complete social emancipation.** This is also why, **only this struggle of the workers and peasants will bring the genuine solution to the problem of an authentic National Liberation in Africa and, in particular, in Kamerun.**

**14.** - The Slave-Trade, and more generally negro-slavery, has touched the whole of Africa South of the Sahara, without distinction of region. Colonisation swept all through Africa without discrimination. The present borderlines of African countries are not in the least the acts of the African Peoples, but of imperialism. These bounderies have not taken into account any of the aspirations of the African Peoples.

With the exception of Socialist countries, imperialism has integrated more and more the whole world into a sole and unique capitalist market (58). It has therefore

made Africa an integral part of this market. As it spreads, so does neocolonial capitalism spreads the integration (59) and interpenetration of Economies of all African countries on one hand, and with all the imperialist countries on the other hand. In so doing, it creates, spreads and re-enforces the objective conditions (60) of a Pan-Africanization (61) of the working-class of the various countries of the Continent. It spreads the similarity of production and existence conditions of the proletariat, of the poor peasantry and the whole of the populations of all Africa. It thus re-enforces the basic conditions for a Pan-African consciousness hold for the Peoples of all the Continent. This would permit setting-on, on an all-African scale and in action, of a struggle strategy of the working-class and the poor peasantry : **the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism** (62).

The working-class and the poor peasantry of Kamerun lead their struggle against the Kamerunian bourgeoisie and imperialism. In this struggle, they consider themselves as an integral part and a detachment of the whole of the workers and peasants of all AFRICA, of the working-class and the poor peasantry of the whole world.

They fling back clearly all reactionary deformations of Pan-African and international solidarity of workers and all labourers whether these deformations are founded on race or on religion.

They finally consider that the solution to the problem of exploitation, oppression and humiliation to negroes, for nearly 500 years, is an urgent necessity. This solution can and must be found, necessarily in the framework of the International Socialist Revolution. It must be found on the following basis, stated as back as 1922 in the « Theses on the Negro Question » of the 4th Congress of the Komintern (Communist Internationale) (63), that is to say :

1°/ « The enemy of the negro race is also that of the white workers. This enemy is capitalism, imperialism ».

2°/ « The duty of the International Worker and Communist Movement is to encourage and to help the international organizing of the Black People in its struggle against the common enemy ».

3°/ « The negro problem has become a vital question in World Revolution ».

**15.-** The present struggle of Kamerunian workers and poor peasants has a triple aim. It aims at breaking and radically destroying all foreign domination in our country and in AFRICA. It wants to attain the complete political defeat of the Kamerunian and African neocolonial bourgeoisie and their allies. It wants to attain the definite suppression of the division of the Kamerunian society into exploiting classes and exploited ones, into dominating and dominated classes, wealthy minorities and poor majorities. **This objective is Socialism.**

This struggle, which therefore aims at liberating the Kamerunian and African workers from exploitation, oppression, must be led by the workers themselves. **The liberation of Kamerunian and African workers and poor peasants must be and will be the act of Kamerunian and African workers and poor peasants themselves.**

**16.-** The victory of this struggle of Kamerunian workers and poor peasants against the bourgeoisie and for Socialism IS POSSIBLE. But it is possible only through the widest union of the great mass of workers and poor peasants. It requires the union of hundreds of thousands of labourers from towns and countryside, by the sides of the workers and poor peasants.

This struggle cannot attain victory without a solid LABOURERS' ORGANIZATION, **a solid workers' and poor**

**peasants' party.** Such a party must not admit just anybody in its ranks. Its members must be elements accepting at least three conditions. The first is that they firmly be acquired to the interests and aspirations of the working-class and the revolutionary poor peasantry. The second is that they arm themselves with the proletariat revolutionary theory : Scientific Socialism or Marxism-Leninism (64). The third is that they fight from the combat positions of the revolutionary workers and poor peasants.

This victory necessarily supposes that, once the political power is conquered, **the workers and peasants will integrally expropriate the bourgeois.** Through this expropriation, they should transform the means of production and exchange, up to then bourgeois private ownership (65), into the whole People's collective ownership (66). Because this is here an absolutely necessary condition of any genuine transition to Socialism.

In an addition, this victory should necessarily lead to **a radical transformation of social relations** (67) **and in particular State power.** At first, this transformation of the State power should signify its transformation into a State in the hands of workers (68). **Such a State would be nothing else than a State of Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship.** This dictatorship is exercised jointly by the working-class and the poor peasantry over the overthrown exploiting reactionary classes. Democratic for the popular masses, this workers' state will be dictatorial for the small handful of bourgeois at present dominant. Because these few hundreds of bourgeois fight and will fight with EVERY MEANS to conserve their privileges. They fight and will fight to keep the present system of oppression and exploitation going, or to get it back after its overthrow. Secondly, due to the development of the working-class, it will be instaured **the proletariat dictatorship** (69). And, in a historical perspective, it will be a question of the suppression of all State power.

17.- The reason why the CAMEROUN PEOPLE's UNION (the UPC) is conducting its fight is to attain this victory of the Kamerunian workers and poor peasants. The UPC is fighting so that the workers and poor peasants regroup within their own party. Because the labourers should organize outside the party of the neocolonial bourgeoisie, outside the NCU and against this bourgeois party.

**The party for the Kamerunian workers and poor peasants is the UPC.** The UPC is the party that was founded on April 10, 1948 by the immortal Mpodol Ruben UM NYOBE, and was led after the assassination of the Mpodol by Presidents Félix-Roland MOUMIE, and Ernest OUANDIE, with their companion Abel KINGUE.

And it is with the same objective that the Current of the National Manifesto to Instaure Democracy (MANIDEM), in its shape as a Revolutionary mass-Movement linked to the UPC, aims at assembling hundreds of thousands of militants for Socialism : the MANIDEM ACTIVISTS. It is necessary to gather all these militants, around the UPC, in a powerful revolutionary organization, in order to ensure conditions for victory.

18.- The bourgeois neocolonial regime of the Cameroun National Union (the NCU) is **anti-popular, fascist** (70) **and autocratic** (71). It represents, at present, the main obstacle on the Kamerunian workers' and peasants' way. It is their first enemy in their struggle for the realization of their class objectives, the satisfaction of their fundamental needs.

This regime represents the main obstacle which prevents the realization of the legitimate democratic aspirations of various other classes of the Kamerunian population : medium peasants, employees, minor civil servants, small shopkeepers, women, students and youth, etc...

**Therefore, it is necessary, before all else, to overthrow this anti-popular regime.**

That is why the whole of the MANIDEM Current, in its shape as a Revolutionary Movement linked to the UPC, and its shape as an autonomous Movement of the masses, has put forward, to the whole of the Kamerunian People a SIX POINTS MINIMUM PROGRAMME. This Minimum Programme gathers the essential demands around which our People can and must mobilize in order to down the wicked, neo-colonial, autocratic, fascist and anti-popular NCU regime, and then instaure a New Democratic and Popular Regime. Here is this Programme :

## FIRST POINT

Proclamation of the fall of the neocolonial dictatorship and suspension of the autocratic and annexationist May-1972 Constitution.

## SECOND POINT

Formation of a National-Union Provisional Government, for democracy, progress and peace, by a round-table of all declared initiatory, « signatory » or sympathizing forces of the MANIDEM Current.

## THIRD POINT

General and Unconditional Amnesty, with all the deriving measures :

— Freeing of all political prisoners ;

— Ceasing of law-suits within the jurisdiction of repression ;

— Free return to their homes to all those exiled and underground fighters whith State Assistance... ;

— Immediate adoption of employment decisions ensuring the re-integration of all the categories of citizens to the social economic life of the Nation ;

Etc...

## FOURTH POINT

Restablishement of political and trade-union liberties, with the return of the UPC and its mass-organizations to legal life, which implies the repeal of all contrary legislation to these dispositions, the suppression of special jurisdictions, as well as the liquidation of the NCU tutelage on the trade-union movement.

## FITH POINT

The organization of free elections in a delay of eighteen months to two years from the date of entry into office of the Provisional Government born of the MANIDEM Current, elections which are destined to design a Constituent Assembly in charge of defining the Fundamental Institutions of the new Democratic Regime and their functioning, by bringing adequate solutions to the following questions :

a) — Better concretization of the Reunification on the basis of the wishes of the representatives of the Western Kamerun ;

b) — Harmonization of the cultural and political beaming of the regions, of the administrative and political descentralization on one hand, with a dynamic development of the Kamerunian unitary State on the other hand ;

c) — Institutionalization of workers' and peasants' participation guarantees of management and control of the economy and state apparatus ;

d) — Explicit constitutional guarantees ensuring the immediate liquidation and banning of all forms of slavery and slave-trade ; effective equality of all citizens, of all ethnics, races, and both sexes.

## SIXTH POINT

The availing of a foreign policy for effective national independence, with, in the African level, a UNIFICATION process for Central Africa in the framework of a dynamic and consequent African policy.

**19.-** But, owing to the class-character (72) of the present society, even the instauration of a democratic regime would not get the country away from capitalism. And consequently, the workers would not get away either from capitalist exploitation. The only realization of the Minimum Programme would not in itself break the framework of the political and economic domination on society by the bourgeoisie. Once this Programme is realized, it

allows simply to widen the political framework in which the working-class, the poor peasantry and the wide popular masses can more effectively defend their interests and aspirations. This Minimum Programme allows simply the workers and the peasants to lead their struggles in better conditions, more freely, more widely. It only allows the political struggle to be franker and clearer for millions of Kamerunians. It only allows that the struggle that the various classes in Kamerunian society are conducting more or less consciously between them, finally takes place clearly around the real fundamental questions. These questions are those touching all aspects of life for millions of men and women, boys and girls of Kamerun.

The TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM therefore will call upon the Workers' and Peasants' Power set up by the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, to execute other measures. These measures, which go further than the preceeding MINIMUM PROGRAMME, are written in the following PART II of the present PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.

# PART II

## WHAT THE KAMERUNIAN PEOPLE WANT

1.- The imperialists and the Kamerunian neo-colonial bourgeoisie present politics as an affair for « big guys » and « very capable people ». Really speaking, it is because this obsurantist (73) presentation is very useful for them. It is obscurantist because it allows them to keep the workers benighted, in order to make them accept passively their exploitation. Thus, they can make the rich get richer by all means, whilst the poor are sinking deeper and deeper in poverty.

On the contrary, as for the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, politics, political action, Revolution, have one unique objective : **to satisfy the aspirations and the needs of the People.** Here is the fundamental difference between the reactionary politics of the bourgeois of the NCU one one hand, the revolutionary politics of the MANIDEM guided by the UPC on the other hand. This is the underlying reason that makes the MANIDEM PROGRAMME have nothing to do with that of the NCU. Besides the NCU doesn't have a published Programme. It is contended by Ahidjo Birawandu's empty speeches. In this way, it can deceive the labourers and lie the People non stop.

**2.- As long as the neocolonial bourgeoisie imposes its dictatorship on the Kamerunian People, the labourers' needs will never be satisfied.** If not, in twenty years, one

would not be where one is at present. Nevertheless, the People's needs today are more urgent and more serious than ever. The most fundamental and immediate needs of the Kamerunian People are :

— to find a job ;

— to eat one's fill, to drink when thirsty ;

— to have convenient housing and to dress properly ;

— to be attended when ill ;

— to be able to find a school for one's children in order that they may have a proper education, learn a trade and, at the end, find a job ;

— to live freely, that is to say to have the right to express one's thoughts, without being arbitrarily arrested, thrown into prison without trial and then tortured non stop ;

— not to be crushed by taxes ;

— to have spare time and to rest when tired.

3.- The satisfaction to all these needs does not depend upon the goodness of such person, such and such President, or such a group of persons. It depends above all on the way that society is organized : **it is a matter of social organization.** How is our society organized ? Into the hands of which class in the power in this society ? Those wo have power, what do they do with this power ? What do they use it for ? Such are the important questions that must be asked. It is not possible to understand why the People's needs are not satisfied, if these ques-

tions have not been understood. It is not possible to undestand why a small group live in insolent luxury, whilst the masses are in poverty, as long as these questions haven't received a right answer.

**4.-** In order to satisfy the People's needs, it is necessary, to start with, to organize the society in a way to ensure at least the following conditions :

— everyone has a job and effectively works ;

— everyone lives uniquely from his work, and nobody lives off of someone else's work ;

— everyone receives a convenient salary, is housed conveniently, eats conveniently and dresses properly ;

— everyone has the right to be cared for if ill, and effectively receives the medical care needed ;

— everyone can receive education, starting with the young, boys and girls without discrimination ;

— everyone can freely express his political opinions, without risk or fear of being arbitrarily arrested, thrown into prison without trial and tortured.

Not one of these conditions is at present fulfilled under the NCU regime. Nonetheless, they are the leastest thing that should be done by a regime that is worried about the interests of its People.

**5.-** Satisfaction to the People's fundamental needs, is an absolutely necessary condition to speak about a POPULAR POWER. Moreover, as long as these needs are not satis-

fied, speaking of Socialism or even only of genuine democracy, becomes a shameful demagogy.

In order to be able to produce all that is necessary to satisfy the needs of the People, certains conditions should also be fulfilled.

1°/ The first of these conditions is the liberation and development of the forces producing what is needed for the People. Two categories of these forces exist. There are **the human productive forces** : these are the Kamerunians who can work. And there are **the material productive forces :** these are some things producted by man's work (such as machines in factories, dams, etc...) and some natural objects (such as land, rivers, ...).

A great capacity of work (a productive force) lies in the Kamerunians' arms and brains that the NCU policy has reduced to unemployment. Even those who work do not produce as much as they could. Because they are often employed in a wrong way. Thus, engineers, technicians, doctors are put into offices, or spend their time making speeches. Many teachers and professors are in ministries or embassies, where they don't do very much, etc... Census have proved that women are a majority in our country. They therefore represent a great productive force in our society. Without an authentic women's liberation, we will never manage to really transform our country. As long as women stay crushed by all sorts of out-of-date customs and practices, society as a whole will remain blocked. It is not just a question of social unfairness from which women suffer and which should be radically eliminated. There is more. Because blocking-up women prevents the whole society to make use of all that really liberated women could bring to it. These are the reasons why the MANIDEM and its locomotive the UPC should conduct a policy really liberating Kamerunian women.

As for the Youth, education at school should transform it into the producers of tomorrow, in order to satisfy the needs of all the People. Unfortunately, it is neglected in the present NCU system. Its training has been plainly sabotaged. Thousands are made to fail exams. Kamerunian schools are in a lamentable situation. In this way, tomorrow's productive forces are spoilt. A radically different policy for teaching, education and professional training is therefore of vital necessity.

Hence, human productive forces are crushed. Therefore, it is not possible to produce enough to satisfy the needs of our People. But as well, **even that which is produced is seized by a small clique of pleasure-seeker and pot-bellied bourgeois.**

Great production possibilities lie in our fields, our factories, our mines, etc... But the earth is not laboured with modern scientific means, as the government doesn't give these means to the peasants. The industrialization of the country, under the NCU, is managed according to the foreign capitalists' interests, and not those of our People. Thus, material productive forces are not sufficiently liberated and developed either.

More so, people cannot work, produce, for long, under such an irrespirable dictatorship as under the NCU. Genuine democracy for workers is a necessary condition for their liberation as a productive force. The satisfaction of the People's needs therefore makes necessary a democratic political regime for the mass of the population.

2°/ As long as the State remains closely subjected to foreign domination, none of the above conditions can be satisfied. Because as long as the Kamerunian bourgeoisie holds the State apparatus, the latter can be nothing else but a machine to oppress the workers, peasants and the mass of small people. As long as the NCU is in power,

the State will only be a merciless dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Even after the overthrow of the NCU regime, if power should fall into the hands of another bourgeois or petty-bourgeois group, NOTHING would really be changed for the Kamerunian workers.

This is why it is absolutely necessary that, as from now, the MANIDEM PROGRAMME says clearly what will be done when the Revolution will have overthrown the bourgeoisie and driven the NCU gang from power. It is absolutely necessary that the MANIDEM PROGRAMME says clearly to the workers the measures they should take in order that their needs be satisfied.

Each worker, each peasant, every patriotic intellectual, should clearly know for which precise objective the NCU regime must be fought. They must know how the UPC and the MANIDEM which it guides, intend to build a New Democratic and prosperous KAMERUN, on the way towards Socialism.

**6.** - The period during which the most urgent needs of the People should first of all be satisfied, is necessarily situated between the present neocolonial bourgeois society and the Socialist society which will be built by the Kamerunian workers. This period will therefore be a transitory one. It will be the period of transition to Socialism, to which corresponds the present MANIDEM PROGRAMME.

The Economy of our country is still greatly dominated by the foreign neocolonialists. The economic policy of the transition period will therefore first of all aim at radically liberating the Kamerunian Economy from foreign domination. The matter will be, above all, to build an independent National Economy. As the Kamerunian bourgeoisie is completely bound to the neocolonialists, it will be therefore necessary to make these people unfit to

harm. It will be necessary to politically prevent the Kamerunian bourgeoisie from using its economic force (born from plundering workers and peasants) to continue exploiting the workers.

7.- But the bourgeoisie imposes its domination and exploitation by using the State apparatus : army, police, civil servants, etc... The revolutionary regime of the workers, during the transition period, must therefore first of all, destroy this bourgeois State apparatus. This apparatus is not neutral at all : it has been solely and intentionaly built to serve the bourgeoisie. The MANIDEM guided by the UPC should replace this bourgeois State apparatus by a popular one. This should be in the hands and at the service of the workers and the poor peasants. **Such a result can't be reached without extremely drastic and audacious decisions. Because the bourgeoisie will inevitably fight the Revolution, as it will of course snatch from these people all the enormous privileges they have at present. The bourgeois reactionaries will even call upon mercenaries to try and get back power, and plunge again the Kamerunian workers into exploitation and poverty as under the NCU at present. In these circumstances, the workers will have no other choice than to impose by force the new decisions to the bourgeoisie. At that time, the imperialists and their lackeys, who are keeping silent now whilst our People is suffering the NCU, will start shouting loudly about a dictatorship and human rights. Therefore, the Kamerunian workers will only laugh out of the imperialists' hypocrisy and calmly continue their Revolution.**

8.- An essential mean used by the bourgeoisie to keep the workers under exploitation and poverty is cultural oppression. Today, one of the instruments of this cultural oppression is the use of foreign languages : FRENCH and

ENGLISH. These languages are in fact the official languages, and they are the languages of politics. Our national languages are despised by the pot-bellied bourgeois who, at the same time, are ashamed of them. Today, with the exception of certain illiterate NCU « deputies » only those who speak French or English can belong to the political power bodies. **This plainly excludes the popular masses from politics. The masses are called only to vote at 100 % for things already decided.** Such a situation is scandalous. Because it is impossible to get participation from the mass of people to directing the country's affairs, to politics, if politics are done in a language that people don't understand, don't master.

The language problem is therefore fundamental. **No genuine liberation is possible for the African Peoples without cultural liberation. And no cultural liberation will be authentic without a systematic use of our languages, without a radical come-back to our own languages.** No colonial lie should deceive the Kamerunian People on this matter. The bourgeois and some African petty-bourgeois, above all intellectuals, claim the contrary. Some say that, henceforth, « French (and English) are the joint estate of France (and of England) and the African Peoples ». Others, sometimes even patriots, say that « French and English are languages in themselves », and that « it is not a language in itself that is imperialist ». Well ! But if so, why shouldn't Bambara, Fufuldé, Bassa, Haussa, Fê-fê, Yambassa, Duala, Bulu, Lingala, Kiswahili (74), etc., etc... be also « the joint estate of the African Peoples, France and England » ? The truth is that these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois know very well that **French and English are for them political tools against the African popular masses. Because the popular masses don't master these languages.** Thus, even on this language problem, appear class interests and class struggle. Each class expresses positions according to its class interests.

9.- When the slave-traders and the imperialists invaded AFRICA, the present states did not exist within their present boundaries. These frontiers have been traced by the imperialists for their own interests. These frontiers therefore have nothing to do with the genuine interests of the African Peoples.

More so, 20 years of neocolonial independence have already proved that the political division of the African Peoples only gives profit to imperialism and the bourgeoisie. This is why « AFRICA MUST UNITE ». It must politically unite, because this is the only way for the African Peoples to put really together their forces, in order to get away from domination and misery.

The problem of African Unity should therefore from now be set in a clear and distinct way. It must no longer be set in terms of simple« solidarity » more or less sentimental : « everyone for himself, but we feel solidary ».

The ORGANIZATION of AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) promised Unity in Africa without political unification. Fifteen years after the founding of the OAU, never has there been so many conflicts and wars between African countries.

The ONLY REAL UNITY, is Political Unity, in a great and sole African State. Only a State like this can allow the African Peoples to be really independent and to get back their dignity.

**10.**- The MANIDEM GENERAL PROGRAMME FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM has therefore as objective, above all, to satisfy the Kamerunian People's needs.

That is why it calls for the following measures, without which this objective can never be achieved.

# I. - DEFINITELY DRIVE AWAY THE IMPERIALISTS AND BEAT THE KAMERUNIAN NEOCOLONIAL BOURGEOISIE

## A - BREAK DOWN FOREIGN DOMINATION OVER THE STATE

**1.** - All the Unequal Treaties signed by the Ahidjo's regime with its Franco-British masters and others, will be denounced. For these Treaties reduce to practically nothing the Independence of our country.

The New Regime will be able to engage negociations to conclude new Treaties with friendly foreign countries who don't aim at dominating our Fatherland. Likewise, the Popular Kamerun will be able to engage negociations to conclude Agreements with capitalist countries, on the basis of independence, sovereignty, equality and mutual interest.

**2.** - There will no longer be any « technical advisor », any « cooperation civil servant from a foreign country », in commanding or decision-making jobs in administration, in the army, the police, the ministries or anywhere else.

## B - BREAK DOWN THE PRESENT BOURGEOIS STATE MACHINE

**3.** - The NCU bourgeois fascist party will be dissolved. So will also be the NCU annexes : NCUWO (NCU Women Organization), the NCUY (NCU Youth Organization), the

NUCW (National Union of « Camerounian » Workers). All their wealth will be confiscated by the State for popular works.

4. - The army, the State police force (the « gendarmerie ») and all the polices of the present state machine will be utterly purified. All anti-patriotic elements, informers and criminals will undergo a clean sweep. Such elements will be affected to civic re-education and productive work (75).

The political police (SEDOC-DIRDOC) and all the bands that it keeps all through the country, will be dissolved, and their chiefs will have to pay for their crimes. The Mobil Mixed Brigades (BMM) will be suppressed and their chiefs severely punished for their misdeeds.

5. - The patriotic elements in the army and the present polices will be re-educated according to the revolutionary principles. They will in this way participate fully and without discrimination, at the popular building of the country.

6. - All the civil servants who will have been noticed as particularly zealous for the NCU, all informers and all those who will have been wicked towards the People, will be judged by popular courts and severely corrected for their misdeeds.

7. - All ill-gotten goods, before as well as after the Revolution, will be confiscated by the State to be used for the needs of the workers and the People. Thus, villas will for instance become day-nurseries and kindergartens, buildings will become schools, dispensaries, rest-homes for workers, etc...

**The problem of the recuperation by the People of the ill-gotten goods by the bourgeois and other present satraps** (76) **is a very important question. That is why a National Committee of Ill-Gotten Goods (NACIGG) will be established by the Revolutionary Government immediatly after the fall of the present evil regime.** Committees will also be established in the administrative circumscriptions, from the division to the smallest village, to do the same work. The National Committee will direct and coordinate the activity of all the Local Committees. It will manage so that any misuse be severely punished. All investigations, conclusions and decisions of these Committees, on all levels, will be made fully known to the People.

## C - RESTORE THE CITIZENS' FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND GUARANTEE THEM

**8.-** Contrarily to the present fascist system of the NCU dictatorship, fundamental freedoms will be first of all restored, then guaranteed by the workers' State.

For every citizen, these are : the freedom of opinion, expression, movement, publication. And also the freedom of association, assembly, organization and press. They are also the freedom, for whoever is accused, to choose his defenders.

It is scandalous to arrest, torture and imprison honest people solely because of their opinions. It is scandalous that, solely for their opinions, honest people are imprisoned without precise accusation, without judgement and without a right of defence. **No citizen will no longer be troubled, arrested, thrown into prison, tortured, because of his opinions or in the exercise of the citizen's rights enumerated above.**

But of course, irremediable reactionaries will try to profit from this broad democracy to stir up a counter-revolution. International reaction will help these elements in their counter-revolutionary plots and manœuvres. Under these conditions, the revolutionary regime will have no alternative but to use every means it has to break down these plots and manœuvres.

9.- During all the transition period, the social classes continue to exist and consequently, class struggle also exists. The single party system is therefore IMPOSSIBLE to establish, unless adopting police measures as does the NCU at present. If the reactionaries are prevented from organizing their own reactionary party, they are inevitably going to infiltrate into the workers' party. They will therefore try, by ruse, to « change from inside » the revolutionary workers' and poor peasants' party, into a reactionary party. **The New Regime will for these reasons, leave the different social classes the right to organize non-fascist independent parties. Because our People will not stand the fascist NCU for one minute after having overthrown the present regime.** The freedom to organize independent parties therefore excludes the upholding of the NCU. It also excludes the least tolerance with regards to the fascist parties. This freedom will be recognized and guaranteed to each and everyone, as long as the parties lead their struggle in the framework of the democratic legality of the workers' power and their new regime.

10.- The workers in all branches of activity will rediscover **a fundamental right that the NCU ravished from them : the right to freely organize within trade-unions.** These trade-unions will be independent from any political party. The present deception from the NCU, where the trade-unions are suited to the NCU, must end. **The workers should have the liberty to defend their interests, inclu-**

**ding against eventual degenerations of the new regime.** This defence is impossible without a liberty for the workers to organize without beeing suited to any political party whatever

Trade-unions should have the right to criticize, propose, negotiate, demonstrate, strike, in order to make known and succeed their claims.

On another side, the workers will be encouraged and helped in the study in order to fully understand and master all the problems that face the transition to Socialism. It is in fact necessary that the workers, and especially the trade-unions representing them, master these problems. Because if not, they risk to fall into reactionary traps of the bourgeois who will miss no occasion to spread lies. They also risk to be seduced by the infantile charmers of leftism (77).

However, this study of the workers will have a different signification from that of the present so-called trade-unionist study by the NUCW (National Union of Cameroun Workers). The NUCW aims at making the workers be passive slaves of the bourgeoisie, incapable to defend their most elementary interests. On the contrary, under a democratic and popular regime, workers' education and study will aim at rising their capacity to fight against any form of exploitation and humiliation. This study will develop their sense of responsibilities, as productors as well as the leading political force of the new social order.

**11.-** It is impossible to oblige, by decrees, people to believe or not to believe in a god. As one cannot oblige people to accept or give up a religion through a governmental decision. It is however this stupid policy that the Ahidjo-inspired NCU is following, by prohibiting religious groups and by making Ahidjo's religion quite a State religion.

Under the new regime which will be set up by the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, all this will change.

The democratic State will be laic.

It will recognize the freedom of religious belief and non belief, as well as the freedom of worship.

As for all freedom, that of worship can not be really guaranteed without adequate means. That is why the popular state will ensure a suitable salary for the ministers of the various cults, as well as ressources for their religious activities. In these conditions, there will not be any reason to admit foreign financing, in any way or pretext whatever. In the same way, this taking charge by the State of the expenses for worship, will make unacceptable any form of collection on behalf of religion. The worship ministers will have the possibility to participate in production part time. Their salary which the popular State will ensure will depend upon the whole of their activities.

## II. - SET UP A POPULAR STATE : PUT THE POWER INTO THE HANDS OF THE WORKERS, THE POOR PEASANTS AND OTHER LABOURERS

### A - GENERAL PRINCIPLES

**1.-** The political regime that the MANIDEM guided by the UPC will set up after having overthrown the NCU, will be a Popular State regime. **The political and economic Power will be in the hands of the workers. And above all, in the hands of the most exploited amongst them : the**

**working-class and the poor peasants.** The essential political contents of this regime will present two aspects. It will be totally democratic for the workers. But, as the overthrown bourgeoisie will do ANYTHING to get back to power, the workers, obviously, will not let them do this. **Therefore, the regime will be dictatorial towards the bourgeois who will not keep quiet. It will of course be necessary to teach them to keep quiet. The political regime will be therefore a REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP.**

**DEMOCRACY for the workers, DICTATORSHIP against the reactionary bourgeois and plotters.** Such will be the Popular Power set up by the MANIDEM guided by the UPC of UM NYOBE.

**2.-** Power cannot be really and for long in the hands of workers, if one lets bureaucracy develop. The damage of the NCU bourgeois bureaucracy is well known. The civil servants consider themselves above the workers and the poor peasants. And yet, it is the work of the workers, poor peasants and other labourers that maintain these civil servants. The wealth that permits them to live doesn't fall out of the sky. Bureaucratization is a general harm in present African countries. It's a harm that torments inevitably the functionaries, starting with the intellectuals, who however have been able to study only thanks to the work of the People. The intellectuals have been contaminated by this harm of bureaucracy in Europe or in contact with the African bourgeoisie. They have thus acquired a way of living, of thought and of behaviour from the functionaries of capitalist Europe. These ways consist especially in this : arrogance and complete contempt towards the People ; a cut between functionaries and workers ; an unbounded desire to « fine life ». A radical struggle against this phenomenon must be waged.

This is why, under the New Regime, the administrative functionaries will have, according to circumstances, to ply to productive jobs. Local State-power staffs, or the Central Revolutionary Government, will define the conditions of such jobs.

Every fonctionary will be revocable at any moment. This revocation will be able to be made at the request of the popular masses, by local power staffs, or the Central Revolutionary Government.

**3.-** The masses will have a full right to criticize the functionaries.

Functionary jobs, wherever they be, will cease to be places to get rich. In order to attain this objective, in all the country and to start with, the highest salaries should not be more than five times the lowest salaries. And this margin should diminish progressively as the transition to Sociallism will advance.

**4.-** Civil majority will be fixed at 16 years of age.

**5.-** At each level, the representation of political parties to the various bodies of power will be in proportion with their effective representativeness.

**6.-** The Kamerunian opportunist petty-bourgeoisie has never managed to organize its own political party. The risk exists therefore that, after the overthrow of the fascist NCU dictatorship, the UPC and the MANIDEM which it guides, find themselves as the only political organizations worthy of the names in the country.

Many opportunist petty-bourgeois already spend their time dreaming of making a career from the hides of the

UPC and the MANIDEM. It is foreseeable that these people could then take, to all sorts of manœuvres and pranks that imperiallism will be tempted to support. Even in this case, the MANIDEM guided by the UPC should strive to guarantee democratic rights while remaining vigilant.

**It will constantly carry a special attention to the problem of the necessary distinction between Party and State.** The disgraceful confusion that the NCU maintains on this issue is dangerous and unacceptable.

## B - GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE POPULAR POWER

**7.-** In each village or town, large or small, the political and administrative State Power, will be in the hands of a **Popular Municipal Assembly.** This Assembly will be freely elected by the population of the agglomeration. The Assembly will designate amongst its members, a **Municipal Council of the People's Commissars.** This Council will be the executive body of power on the agglomeration level.

**8.-** On the level of a subdivision (or the administrative branc which will replace it), the State Power will belong to a **Popular Subdivisional Assembly.** The members of this Assembly will be elected by the Popular Municipal Assemblies of the Subdivision, amongst their own members. The Popular Subdivisional Assembly will elect amongst its members, a **Subdivisional Council of People's Commissars.** This will be the executive body of power on the subdivision level.

9.- In each division (or that which will replace it), the State Power will be in the hands of a **Popular Divisional Assembly.** The members of this will be elected by the Popular Subdivisional Assemblies of the Division. amongst their own members. Each Divisional Popular Assembly will elect amongst its members, a **Divisional Council of People's Commissars.** The election of the President of this Divisional Council will take place on a proposition from the MANIDEM leading body in the Division : the Divisional Revolutionary Council (DRC) of the MANIDEM. The Divisional Council of the People's Commissars will be the executive body of the Popular State Power in all the division.

10.- On the whole country scale, the Supreme State Power will belong to the **National Popular Assembly,** which will be elected by universal franchise by all the People. The National Popular Assembly will designate the **National Council of the People's Commissars,** which will be the Central Revolutionary Government. The designation of the National Council of the People's Commissars will take place on a proposition from the MANIDEM National Leading Body : the NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (NRC).

11.- Except for the Central Revolutionary Government, all the Councils of the People's Commissars will be doubly responsible. They will be responsible before the Popular Assembly which will have elected them on one hand, and on the other hand, before the Council of the People's Commissars on the higher level.

The National Council of the People's Commissars will be responsible before the National Popular Assembly. It will have authority over all local Councils, from the Division to the agglomeration.

**12.** - On each level, the members of the Popular Assemblies can be removed and replaced at any time by those who will have elected them.

As with any Council of the People's Commissars, or any member of such a Council, it will be removed at any time, either by the Popular Assembly which elected him, or by the Council on the higher level. The replacement will be made by the body that elected.

**13.** - As a general rule, the Popular Power will conduct a ceaseless struggle against bureaucratization and enrichment at any level of the State apparatus.

In particular, at any level, the leaders will not be allowed to pretend that they must have salaries higher than their previous, only because of their nomination in the State apparatus.

## C - ARMED FORCES, POLICE, ...

**14.** - The Popular State will build powerful armed forces and a popular police. They will be at the workers' service. Therefore, their function will no longer be to rag and terrify people. They will be constructed according to the following principle : **the People in arms.**

For every citizen, and even stronger reason for the National Popular Army, the supreme duty will be :

— the defence of the country and the Revolution against all their enemies, inside and outside our frontiers ;

— the participation in the struggle for complete liberation and Unification of Africa.

**15.** - In the National Popular Army, no indiscipline will be tolerated. But political rights will be recognized and guaranteed to each and everyone. Women will enjoy the same rights as men.

It is necessary to put an end to the bourgeois hypocrisy according to which « the army doesn't deal with politics ». In truth, every army makes the politics of the social class which holds the power. The army is simply a main element of the State apparatus. Consequently, its makes the politics of the class controlling this State apparatus. Politics is therefore in the army all the time, and is unable not to be there. The bourgeois army makes the politics of the bourgeoisie and fights the politics of the workers. The popular army will make the politics of the workers, for over 99 % of our People, and will fight the politics of the bourgeoisie.

**16.** - Soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers of all grades will have, according to norms fixed by the law and by decisions of the National Council of the People's Commissars, to participate to productive work.

**17.** - Soldiers, non-commissionned officers and officers, will have the right to organize within Revolutionary Councils of officers, non-commissionned officers and soldiers. The Councils thus formed democratically will have the right to ask for the removal of non-commissionned officers or officers guilty of serious offenses.

On all levels, Political Commissars will be appointed on proposition by these Councils in the view to a fundamental task. They will have to watch that the armed forces remain at all times politically sound, that is to say, in the service of the workers and the People. They shall also have to maintain a high-level revolutionary combativity within the popular armed forces.

18.- A popular militia, composed of workers elected by their work-comrades will be formed and armed. Its mission in time of peace will be to defend the acquisitions of the Popular Revolution against its enemies inside the country. The necessary time for training of militiamen will be counted in their normal working time. The members of the Popular Militia can be removed and replaced at any time by their electors. They can also be removed by any of the Councils of the People's Commissars from which they are answearable to, and replaced by their electors. Any brutality by a member of the militia will be severely punished.

The National Council of the People's Commissars will organize the Militia on the national scale. This organizing will be made in coherence with the structures of the National Popular Army. The respective functions of the Army and the Militia will be harmonized.

19.- In every city (town or village), a Municipal Popular Police will be designated by the population of the city, through elections by districts. The Municipal Popular Assembly will then designate the Chiefs of Municipal Police amongst the elected policemen. Every policeman, Chief or not, can be removed and replaced at any time by his electors. In the case of a serious misdeed by a policeman (chief or not), his removal can also be decided by the Municipal Popular Assembly and the latter will ask the offender's electors to replace him.

The National Popular Assembly will enact laws establishing a National State Police and defining its task.

It is necessary to have done with the practices of the bourgeois police. That is why, in particular, no brutality will be tolerated from any policeman. Such acts will have to be severely punished, the removal could in such a case be worsened by another penalty.

**20.** - Torture is degrading, and firstly for he who practises it. Hence, all torture will be abolished in Popular Kamerun, on whatever level, INCLUDING AGAINST THE REVOLUTION ENEMIES. Any infringement on this principle will have to be severely punished.

## D - JUDICIARY SYSTEM, PRISONS

**21.** - Justice should be effectively popular. It should cease to be only « administered on behalf of the Kamerunian People », when the People don't participate in anything that is decided.

In order to achieve this goal, judges in basic popular courts of justice (villages or towns), will be elected by the workers themselves. Judges shall not be at the same time, neither members of the Councils of the People's Commissars, nor in the army, in the militia, or in the police. The judges will be revocable and replacable at any time by their electors.

**22.** - On intermediary administrative levels, popular tribunals will be established. Such tribunals will be designated by the Popular Assemblies of the corresponding levels, after wide democratic consultations with the masses at the bottom, to obtain their advice. These tribunals will be responsible before the bodies which will have designated them, and can be revoked and replaced by these bodies at any time.

**23.** - A National Popular Court of Justice will be created, and will be the supreme body on judiciary matters. The National Popular Court of Justice will be designated by the National Popular Assembly and will be responsible before it. The members of the Court can be revoked and replaced at any time by the Assembly.

The National Popular Court of Justice takes care that judgements on all levels, be administered according to law.

Detailed organization of the judiciary system will be described in the Constitution of the Popular State, in accordance wih the general dispositions of the present PROGRAMME.

**24.-** In all tribunals, the language used will be the language of the interested parties, or in any case a language which they all speak. Justice cannot be popular when it is administered in languages that the People don't understand or don't master.

**25.-** All judgements are public. The right of a defence freely chosen by the accused is recognized and guaranteed to every citizen. The citizens who ensure the legal defence of those accused will be themselves workers. In order that these defenders can devote the necessary time to this task, they will be left that time off.

**26.-** The present judges, lawyers and assimilated, who will not have been known as having served with zeal the NCU state-terrorism system, or, moreover, who will have fought for a new and democratic regime, will be allowed to practice their professions according to the new regulations. These professions will play an important role in the development of a genuine socialist democracy.

**27.-** As in all forms of social violence, the death penalty has a class character. The bourgeoisie makes use of it against the People. It is therefore out of the question that the revolutionary power of the workers continue this bourgeois policy.

Only the great transformations that the revolutionary regime will conduct, will create conditions for the complete abolishment of the death penalty.

In await of these conditions, the death penalty will be strictly limited to the following cases :

1°/ Mercenaries

2°/ Political criminals from the present NCU regime

3°/ Foreign spies or in service to foreigners

4°/ Perpetrators of acts of serious counter-revolutionary violence, serving imperialism and reaction

5°/ Anyone guilty of introducing and smuggling drugs in our country. The list of incriminated drugs will be fixed by law.

6°/ Forgers and smugglers in monetary matters and other dangerous saboteurs to the Economy

7°/Anyone indulging in slave-trade, in any form whatever, open or disguised

8°/ Anyone guilty of serious attacks against the struggle for the Unification of Africa, or the Union of the Socialist Republics of Africa.

**28.** - The role played by prisons will be essentially educative. It will be a question of succeeding in the re-education of the prisoner in order to reinstate him into the new social life. No brutality to prisoners will be tolerated.

Young minors will only be the object of re-educative measures in centres ensuring satisfactory conditions for their opening out.

# E - NATIONAL UNITY, REGIONALISM

**29.** - The struggle against all ethnic chauvinism, all regionalism, against the demagogy of tribal balance and regional dosage, must go beyond the stage of the hollow NCU speeches. This struggle must be conducted with a spirit of sticking at anything for long, according to a genuine integration policy of our country in all fields.

Such a policy will be composed of the following measures :

1°/ Harmonious development of the various regions of the country, on the unique basis of the general interest for the workers.

2°/ Ever more extended development of democracy for the labourious masses in every region and in all the country. It will be necessary to unmask and fight against any attempt to make up political fiefs by ethnic or region or in any way whatsoever.

3°/ Development of the languages of the various nationalities (ethnics). Each nationality must, through its own basic language, contribute to the cultural development of the whole country.

4°/ Bring special attention to the denunciation, through information and education, of anything that favorizes tribalism.

5°/ Educate the youth in a systematic anti-tribalist spirit by most various means and in all places : schools, boarding-schools, holiday-camps, various national or local associations. The principle will be : **the only consistent way not to be tribalist is to be rigorously anti-tribalist, and first of all in one's own tribe.**

6°/ Suppress traditional chiefdom. In fact, in the present situation, it has become a support for tribalism and regionalism, and above all, an implement for the NCU reactionaries. This instrument permits the NCU to maintain the popular masses enslaved and exploited. The « High Chiefs » are indeed paid by the bourgeois government of the NCU with the money produced by the Kamerunian workers, while doing nothing worthy.

**30.-** Pay special attention to the « Kirdi problem » and the « Pygmy question ». A solution to these problems must be conform to two demands : satisfaction to the Kirdis' and Pygmies' aspirations, and their necessary integration into the life of the whole country.

# III.- BUILD AND INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

## A - GENERAL PRINCIPLES

**1.-** The following general principles will guide the economic policy of the transitional Power :

1°/ Build a National Economy, independent with regard to imperialism, neo-colonialism and the Kamerunian reactionary bourgeoisie ;

2°/ Collective property, by the Kamerunian workers and all the People, of the main means of production and exchange ;

3°/ Resolutely and boldly engage ourselves on the road leading to the suppression of the exploitation of man by man in Kamerun ;

4°/ Democratic and planned (78) management of the National Economy. This management will be widely decentralized. It will be done directly by the workers each time this will be possible. If not, it will be done indirectly by them each time necessary, through their elected or designated representatives ;

5°/ Depend first of all upon our own forces and riches. Not rely on foreign aid. Foreign aid can, could and must only, at best, be a contribution ;

6°/ Avoid imitating whosoever. But know to learn, by thinking over, in comparison with other Peoples.

7°/ The workers' and peasants' ailiance is the basis of the Revolution for the whole period of transition. The economic policy must therefore satisfy the interests of these classes and the interests of the whole of the People. Particularly, the harmonious development of industry and agriculture must be one of the basic imperatives.

**2.-** All neocolonial measures taken by the bourgeois NCU clique will be cancelled. Particularly, the so-called « Cameroon investment Acts » will be cancelled. These Acts only permit the plundering of our country, and the exploitation of the Kamerunian workers by foreigners and the Kamerunian bourgeoisie.

**3.-** Revision, by way of negotiations or by sovereign decision, of all International Agreements signed by the bourgeois NCU clique, and which are contrary to popular and national interest.

**4.-** Initiate a systematic census of all riches from the soil, underground and others in our country.

5.- The management of nationalized firms (industrial, agricultural or others) will have to pursue a double objective : these firms must become effectively social property and socially profit-earning.

In order to achieve this aim, the management will obey to two rules. The first will be the democratic planning defined on the national level. The second will be that the interests of the whole of the Kamerunian workers and the People come before the interests of a fraction whatsoever.

The exact statute of each nationalized firm will of course depend upon its importance in respect to the whole. **But in all cases, the following general rule will be applied. Each nationalized firm (factory, mill, mine, plantation, port ...) will be directed by a Direction Council. The members of this Council, except for the Director, will be designated by the workers in the firm, through basic election. The Director, President of the Council, will be named by the Government. Any member of the Direction Council of a firm will be removed at any time by those who will have elected or named him. The removed members will be replaced by those who will have elected or named them.**

## B - LAND, AGRICULTURE, STOCK-FARMING FISHING, ...

6.- As soon as land becomes merchandise, it goes and will go more and more to those who can buy it. That is to say those who have money, therefore first of all to the bourgeois. Under these conditions, **private land-ownership is bound from now on to signify one thing. It will signify more and more : bourgeois land ownership. Or still : land to the bourgeois, to the capitalists.**

7.- From this derives the following : in order to really give the land back to those who cultivate it, it is necessary to stop completely the phenomenon of private land-owning. This phenomenon is busily spreading all over the country, and it will inevitably triumph everywhere if it is not stopped.

**Private land ownership will be therefore abolished.**

No one, nor any part of the People, in Kamerun, will no longer be authorized to buy or to sell land.

No one will no longer, either inherit a land, nor give land as a heritage.

Nobody, nor any part of the People, will be authorized any more to mortgage or take mortgage for land. This will be so in whatever be the dimension of the land.

**Land will thus become again collective property. It will be from henceforth the collective property of the whole of the Kamerunian People.**

7.- The tenure system of land will however be still varied during the transition period. It will obey the following principles :

1°/ POOR AND MEDIUM PEASANTS. They will be able, if they so desire, to continue to enjoy freely lands which belonged to them before the abolishment of private land ownership. No measure, either by force or administrative, will be used against them to make them give up the tenure of their land. Only an absolutely free choice from each peasant will make his land be integrated into a collective property : farms or State co-operatives, or independent peasant co-operatives.

Poor and medium peasants, even individuals, will be able to obtain an aid from the government.

2°/ NCU BOURGEOIS AND FEUDALISTS. They will be entirely expropriated without any indemnification. Their land thus nationalized will be run by agricultural workers working on it and the State on the central level.

However, the bourgeois land-owners who will have shown patriotic attitudes during the popular Revolution against the neocolonial bourgeois regime, will be able to benefit from a special regime. These patriotic attitude will have to be dully ascertained by the revolutionary bodies of the MANIDEM and the UPC. The special regime for this category of bourgeois will consist of the following. They will be authorized with their family, to continue to enjoy a part of their land, in the limit of a 25 hectares (approx. 52 acres) surface maximum, and on condition that they no longer exploit anyone and that these hectares be effectively cultivated.

3°/ FOREIGN SETTLERS. They will be totally expropriated without any indemnification. These people have sufficiently super-indemnified themselves for many years on the backs of the Kamerunian People. Their land thus nationalized will be run by agricultural workers working on it and by the State on the central level.

4°/ CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS. The National Council of the People's Commissars will be able, according to the case, to allow a Church or a religious group, to enjoy defined land. For this, it will be up to each church and each religious group to formulate its application to the National Council of the People's Commissars.

8.- The Popular State will encourage the poor and medium peasants to group together to work and to run their land together, within co-operatives. But no administrative nor

forceful measure will be used to oblige the peasants to create such co-operatives. Peasants' independent co-operatives will be able to be helped by the government.

State co-operatives will be developed. They will comprise of nationalized land, but given by the State for free tenure to peasants without land. They will be organized according to precise production standards.

9.- Besides the case of the land for individual peasants or independent peasant co-operatives, and the case of the bourgeois benefitting from the special regime, the management of all the other land will be done according to the same rules as for all other nationalized firms (see paragraph A-5 of this same Chapter III).

10.- The development of class struggles in the countryside will be specially encouraged by the Popular Power. Because it will be necessary to sharpen more and more the revolutionary combativeness of the poor peasants against their former exploiters and against anyone trying to exploit them once more.

For this, special attention will have to be drawn to the free organization of democratic trade-unions of agricultural workers and poor peasants. The recognized rights of the workers in the towns, will also be recognized to the workers in the countryside.

11.- Food agriculture will be developed. Millions of Kamerunians need above all to eat their fill. There is no genuine popular power if the People do not eat their fill. Our country is vast enough for its population, and its land is rich. That is why it is scandalous that, due to the fault of the pot-bellied bourgeois, hundreds of thousands of Kamerunians do not eat their fill.

12.- It's a true scandal that 20 years after « independence », cultivated food produced in some region of the country is not to be found in another. No policy for the conservation of Kamerunian food produce exists, and transport infrastructure doesn't exist either. The Kamerunian bourgeois don't need such a policy, as they buy European produces sometimes directly in Paris, London, etc.

The popular power will develop food industries (cold, conservation, transformation, etc...).

13.- Complete nationalization, without any indemnification, of the herds from the big NCU feudalists and bourgeois. These people exploit for years the Kamerunian stock-farm workers, and they should pay for all these forfeits.

The small stock-farmers who do not exploit anyone's work, will be authorized, if they wish, to continue to breed their livestock on private property. They will however be encouraged by the government to group together into breeder co-operatives in order to produce more and better. They will be helped.

All the nationalized sector of stock-farming will be run like the other nationalized firms.

14.- A national stock-farming will be developed. Its objective will be above all to procure for our People all that it needs in meat, milk and other produces of animal origin.

For this, a bold policy of research will be launched. Likewise, the State will develop a vigorous policy of struggle against all things that prevent the qualitative and quantitative improvements of the Kamerunian stock-farming.

**15.-** A popular fishing policy will be immediately set under way. It will be above all a question of developing a modern fishing industry, in order to procure for the Kamerunian People fish and other produce from sea and rivers in sufficient quantities. Capitalist fishing companies will be nationalized without any indemnification. Independent co-operatives of individual fishermen will be able to get aid from the government. Pisciculture will be developed in the framework of this popular fishing policy.

**16.-** The Kamerunian forest will be protected, in order to avoid harmful deforestation for the equilibrium of our country.

Kamerunian fauna will be protected from the safaris by the bourgeois, pot-bellied or not, foreigners or not.

## C - INDUSTRIAL MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE, TRADE

**17.-** All the great industrial means of production (factories, mines, energy, agro-industrial exploitations, etc...) will be wholly nationalized. There will be no question of even one franc of indemnification. The imperialists and the Kamerunian bourgeois are already self-indemnized enough. Because the profits they have made and continue to make on the backs of our People overtakes by millions of times the « investments » that they have made.

The African small and medium artisans will be able to continue their activities.

**18.-** Credits and banks will be nationalized.

A national currency will be created. This will put an end to the shame of the CFA (successively « Comptoirs

Français d'Afrique », then « Colonies Françaises d'Afrique », and updated since the « independences » : « Communauté Financière Africaine »).

Kamerun will leave the neo-colonial FRANC ZONE, dominated by French imperialist slave-traders.

**19.**- Foreign trade will be nationalized. It will pass under exclusive State control.

**20.**- All non-African nationals will be excluded from the home trade sector. And their wealth will be confiscated by the State to serve the People. These people have widly participated in the exploitation of our People since the period of direct colonialism.

**21.**- The big commercial firms will be nationalized. A State distribution sector will be created and developed.

The African small-tradesmen will be able, if they wish, to freely continue their activities. It will be sufficient that they conform to the norms fixed by the State in matters of prices and other settlements. But the Popular State will encourage them to become workers in the State distribution sector.

No smuggling will be tolerated. Any offender will be severely punished, and the penalty will be even more severe if it concerns a « high-ranking » citizen in the State apparatus.

**22.**- All communication and transport infrastructure will be entirely nationalized and developed : roads, railways, rivers, lakes, mail and tele-communications, air-line and shipping companies ; ports and airports, etc...

**23.-** A bold national policy of energy production, essential basis of any economic and social development, will be launched. POPULAR KAMERUN will actively look to developing such a policy on African scale, at least regional.

**24.-** The popular State will re-examine with the African partners of Kamerun, the conditions of participation of our country to the economic organisms of our Continent, such as the UDEAC (Customs Union of the Central Africa States), the African Bank for Development (ABD), etc...

# IV.- CARRY OUT A SOCIAL POLICY AIMED AT SATISFYING THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE KAMERUNIAN WORKERS

## A - WORK, INCOMES, TAXES

**1.-** Work will be a right and an obligation for each citizen aged 16 and over, subject to his physical and intellectual capacity, unless he is still at school or in vocational training.

**2.-** The working week will be fixed at 40 hours maximum in factories, plantations and other firms.

Any over-time will have to be voluntary. Voluntary over-time will be able to be free (if the worker wants to), or in additional payment. Free over-time will be able to be done only in State firms, or during operations of general interest.

3.- Proper wages will be guaranteed for workers. They will take into account at the same time, the cost of living and the objectives of the economic and social plans.

4.- The initial wages scale will be 1 to 5 maximum. That is to say that the highest wages will have not to exceed more than 5 times the lowest wages. This scale will have to proceed by decreasing, thanks to a higher rise of lower wages at each time salaries will go up.

Exceptional derogations, on the rise, to this scale, will be able to be proposed to the Revolutionary Government by the workers' Assembly of a firm. Such a derogation will consist on giving to a worker of the firm, a wage which could exceed the maximum of the scale fixed above. The derogation will be able to last for a maximum of one year. These rise derogations will only be applied to workers in the productive sector, excluding administrative workers.

The same will go for exceptional deductions, valid for the maximum of one year, which will be able to be proposed to the Revolutionary Government by the workers' Assembly of a firm. They will consist on making cuts in the wages of people particularly shirking or scamping economy in the firm.

5.- During all the transition period, the primary product (79) of firms will not be wholly distributed in the form of salaries to the workers. If such was the procedure, one would not be going towards Socialism ; one would be going back to capitalism and its shameful individualism. During the transition period, it is necessary, in fact, not only to nationalize the means of production and exchange, but also **to start off and develop the revolutionary transformation of the production and social relations. It is**

**necessary to make it in such a manner that these relations become less and less capitalist and more and more socialist.** Moreover, economy is not a game of chance : it also has its own laws. Even during the period of transition to Socialism or under the socialist regime, the wages cannot be determined at an enterprise level or at the level of a unit or a sector of production. For all the reasons it will be necessary and inevitable for the new regime to proceed as follows. Before sharing out the social product (79) between the workers, it is first of all necessary to substract the following funds :

1°/ AN INVESTMENT FUND : used to replace production means which are worn or grown old (machines, various implements, raw materials, etc...). It is also used to create new means of production (purchase of new machines, building of new factories, for example).

2°/ A RESERVE FUND : used to guard against various accidents (crop burning, natural calamities such as migrating grasshoppers or locusts, dam destructions which could cause floods, counter-revolutionary sabotages, etc...).

3°/ A SOCIAL FUND : used to satisfy the collective social needs of the population (schools, hospitals, roadways, railways, medicine, housing at low prices or simply free, research for better production, various pass-times, etc...). Indeed, it is obvious that each one is not going to build his own school, dispensary, road, football pitch, etc...

4°/ A FUND to support those who cannot work : the elderly, pregnant women, children, victims of work-accidents, combatants seriously injured during the war against neo-colonialism or for the defence of the country against imperialists and reaction, etc...

5°/ A FUND to finance the expenses of indirectly productive workers : administration even part-time, doctors and nurses, teachers and professors, etc...

Or course, the more the transition will go on, the more the 5th fund will diminish. All these funds are necessary to develop the socialist, non-individualist character of social relations. They will not be used to enrich thieves and gangsters as they do under the present NCU regime. Everyone can ascertain that, under capitalism and bourgeoisie, the first 4 funds are very small. That is why schools, the People's health, real economic development of the country, are neglected. Whilst the 5th fund which is used for paying higher civil-servants, pos-bellies and other NCU swindlers, is the highest. On the other hand, under the popular regime of the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, the first 4 funds will be the far the highest. Whilst the 5th will not only be the smallest, but will progressively decrease.

**It is of great importance that the workers and the revolutionary youth fully understand these things as from now. Because the pot-bellies, the reactionaries and imperialism will not miss any occasion to launch their anti-communist propaganda. They will try to excite workers and youth towards demands of the sort : « well, your new regime should give to each one the whole product of his work ». If the workers and the youth are aware in advance, they will recognize in such remarks the buds of counter-revolution to crush.**

6.- Set up a social re-integration policy for people victims of the rotten NCU policy and its regime : delinquents, prostitutes and others... It will be a matter of finding them productive jobs, first of all.

Severely fight social degenerates who show themselves inapt to re-education, and who will persist at imitating

the decadent capitalist society : procurers and other licentious elements who pullulate in the leading circles of the NCU, the NCUWO and the NCUY.

7.- Suppression of all income tax on low wages. The small producers and rural workers, particularly the peasants, will be able to pay their tax in kind.

## B - HEALTH

8.- **Health will be entirely free.** Our People have a right to health.

9.-For that, complete nationalization of all hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, chemists, medical practices, etc...

10.- All medical and paramedical professions, all pharmaceutical professions and the like, will be nationalized : all the workers in these professions will become State-workers, with the rights and duties that are attached to it.

11.- Popular Power will start a vast policy for the building of hospitals and dispensaries.

The outset keynote will be : « for every village its dispensary, for every town its hospital ». Objectives will be raised as soon as the first keynote will be carried into effect. At that time, the number of dispensaries and hospitals will be multiplied in the large villages and towns.

12.- Health cannot be free if medicine isn't free. For this reason, the State will develop **a national policy for the**

**fabrication of medicine.** Such a policy will be able to be defined, as much as possible, on an African scale, at least regional.

It is criminal from the NCU bourgeoisie, that 20 years after « independence », the country still does not have a national pharmaceutical industry, and continues to depend completely on foreigners for its medicine.

Popular Power will develop medical and pharmaceutical research.

Preventive medicine and mother and child protection will be the subject of a particular attention as soon as the Transition will start.

**13.** - Health cannot be free without qualified personnel and in sufficient number. A policy for the formation of doctors on all levels and in all fields, nurses, health technicians, of both sexes, will be set underway.

**14.** - The art of traditional medicine will be encouraged and developed, in the framework of medical and pharmaceutical research programmes.

## C - HOUSING AND TRANSPORTS

**15.** - A scandal is spreading in the country : speculation on land for building and real estate. It is absolutely unacceptable that the workers, who are the overwhelming majority of our People, do not have proper housing. Especially as, at the same time, the bourgeois grow rich and ransom the People through excessive rolls and rent practices, even on old slums.

Popular Power will radically put an end to this scandalous situation by a series of measures. These will have for guide-line : EVERY KAMERUNIAN WORKER HAS A RIGHT TO PROPER HOUSING.

**16.** - Blocks of flats, villas, hotels and palaces belonging to NCU bourgeois, their friends and accomplices, will be completely nationalized without any indemnification. All these buildings have been built only with money stolen from the Kamerunian workers and State. They will therefore be used for popular interest tasks.

As an exception, a derogation will be able to be granted to any bourgeois having had, during the popular struggle, a patriotic behaviour ascertained by MANIDEM or UPC organisms. The derogation will consist for its beneficiary, to be able to keep personally the tenure of one of his villas for the rest of his days.

All buildings belonging to the imperialists will be nationalized without indemnity, with exception to diplomatic premises of which the conditions of enjoyment will be redefined.

**17.** - Collection of any rent by private individuals will be abolished.

**The NCU pot-bellied scoundrels' policy has reduced many of the people to an impossible life. In the towns, some people live off of the few small rents that they receive. But under the popular regime, they will find jobs. They will therefore no longer need these rents to live off.**

Local power staffs will have the right to regulate and to requisition blocks of flats in order to satisfy the popu-

lation's housing needs. This right will not permit, at any case, any abuse or dishonest operation.

**18.** - The State will start a vast policy for the building of proper housing for the population. The prices to pay for the tenure of such housing will be weak. Priority for these dwellings will be reserved for workers and poor peasants.

In the country among others, a particular attention will be paid to the housing of State-farm and co-operative workers.

**19.** - The development of collective transport means will be favorized, with detriment to cars and other individual means.

## D - SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES AND MASS SPORT

**20.** - Our People is hard-working and has proved it. Under a democratic and popular regime, it will be conscious that it works from now on for itself and no longer to enrich a clique. It will be ascertaining the fact every day, and therefore, it will do the maximum to produce more and better.

In order that it thus develops production, it also needs rest and entertainment. To this effect, the weekly compulsory work time will be able to be shared out according to the workers' wishes, and taking into account security norms and production imperatives on national or regional levels (unbroken work-time during a day, etc...).

**21.** - Entertainments have a tendency to be concentrated to towns, whereas the countryside is abandoned to destl-

tution. This is one of the aspects of the contradiction between town and countryside, particularly developed in the capitalist system.

In order to solve this problem, Popular Kamerun will apply itself rather to the development of medium-size towns than large towns with hamlets and isolated villages.

**22.** - Tourism will be developed in such a way that it will become a sparetime activity for the mass of people. It will have to cease being reserved for a small clique of pot-bellied bourgeois.

A shame will have to be radically eliminated : that of slave-traders and other merchants of exotism. They arrive in our country, obtain permission from the pot-bellied bourgeois to make our sisters dance for amusement. At the same time, they make films of these dances. With these films, they are going to make money in Europe and America. Our People is only used to fix pictures which bring in money. Now, not one African tourist nor film-producer has ever received permission to film everything he likes in the imperialist countries. This is nonetheless what the neo-colonial bourgeoisie calls « cultural cooperation ». The Popular State will radically put an end to this special sort of « tourism ».

**23. - The cinema will be nationalized.** All the cinematographic industry, film production, their distribution, cinemas, will be dependent on the State. But, no authoritarianism will have to be borne on film production and their authors.

**24. - In a general way no private exploitation of spare-time activities will be tolerated. No one must get rich by exploiting the fatigue of the People after working, or the desire to amuse of the workers.**

**25.** - The better games in our society, as those of foreign countries, will be developed, as long as they are truly spare-time activities, or that they are instructive, for the popular masses.

**Any game with stakes (money or in kind), will be rigorously prohibited.** Any infringer will be punished according to law.

**26.** - **Our People needs a great policy in sports matter.** Mass sport will be developed by fighting all chauvinism, according to the principle : « sport is first of all a spare-time activity ».

Sport, especially mass sport, cannot be developed without adequate means. Popular Power will build stadiums, gymnasiums, swimming-pools, and other sport equipment. It will define and will apply a policy for the formation of personnel for sport in great number and of quality.

**27.** - Physical and Sport Education will be part and parcel of the education system. The practice of sports in school (from the primary to University) will be an abligation and a right.

**28.** - High level sport will be equally developed, with still fighting all chauvinism in the practice of sports. Even in competition, and even on a very high level, sport must remain a spare-time activity for the young Kamerunians.

**29.** - Sport organization will have to be democratic. It will be preserved from fiddles and underhand work of the idle bourgeois and other adventurers. Because for those people, sport is only another way to take money. Those practising sport shall have the most important places at the head of the organisms of the considered sport.

# V. - REALLY LIBERATE THE KAMERUNIAN WOMAN

## A - WOMEN'S GENERAL PROBLEMS

**1.** - The Popular Regime will apply in full the « National Charter of Kamerun Women ».

**2.** - Brutalities and bodily cruelty against women shall be severely punished.

Exploitation, humiliation and other retrogressive practices that widows submit from their dead husband's family will be proscribed and severely punished.

## B - FAMILY AND POPULATION

**3.** - Elaborate a Family Code in accordance with the demands of the Transition to Socialism.

The Kamerunian society during the Transition to Socialism will fully assume its responsibilities in the matter of child education. It will consider as one of its essential duties to protect Kamerunian children against all possible agressions, including that from their parents. Popular Power doesn't claim to take children away from their families. But it will oppose to the bourgeois hypocrisy which claims that a child's education is the private concern of the family, when the most elementary social reality proves the contrary.

4.- In spite of its demagogy, the NCU bourgeois regime doesn't adopt any serious birth-rate policy.

**Now, our country is quite vast, and we are short-handed. The slave-traders have depopulated Africa. However, today, without any shame, they take up the infamous theses of Malthus** (80). **And their griots, so-called experts, relate everywhere that the poverty of Africa is due to the too great number of birth. All this aims to hide the truth, which is that the Africa's poverty is due firstly to the plundering of our riches by the imperialists helped by the African bourgeois.**

**Popular Kamerun will categorically reject these reactionary and fundamentally racialist theses from the imperialists and slave-traders.** Consequently, Popular Power shall set underway the audacious social policy defined above. Because this is the only policy that will permit the necessary real population increase in our country.

## VI.- NATIONAL CULTURES AND LANGUAGES

**1.- No genuine liberation is possible without an authentic development of our African cultures.** This development does not mean an automatic come back to the past. Because every culture evolves with the whole society. But no dishonest attempt of the so-called « universal culture » (81) can deceive the African Peoples.

The Popular Power shall therefore lead a great cultural work. This work shall go in the direction of LIBERATION compared with the decadent bourgeois capitalist culture, and compared with all foreign domination. It will be a

question of going in the direction according to the aim of Socialism, towards the direction of a revolutionary change of social relations.

**2.- For each People, the basis of any genuine cultural liberation policy, of any socialist cultural development, is the use of ITS LANGUAGE. Without a NATIONAL LANGUAGE, THERE IS NO FREE NATIONAL CULTURE. No lie, no subterfuge can hide this simple but fondamental truth, even if it's claimed by progressive Africans.** In other respects, Kamerun is multinational, that means it consists with several nationalities (ethnic groups), none of which must be discriminated.

For all these reasons, the Popular Power shall adopt a linguistic policy, founded on the following principles :

1°/ Clearly establish that French and English are, for our People, foreign languages, languages from imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist countries.

2°/ Avoid to impose the language of any Kamerunian nationality (ethnic). Each nationality should be able to keep its language.

3°/ At the same time, in a first phase, encourage the emerging and the development of regional languages for communication.

4°/ Immediately start research for a language on the whole country scale, keeping in mind African Unification.

5°/ National languages should systematically come into education and all social life (cinema, theatre, books, newspapers, ...).

3.- For the concrete adoption of this policy, the following diagram will be able to be adopted :

1°/ As soon as Popular Power is installed, researches should be undertaken in order to be able to write the language of the various Kamerunian nationalities.

2°/ The language of each nationality should quickly be introduced into primary education, as educational language and as study object.

3°/ In the end, the objective is to have an African language for communication on the whole country scale. **It will be chosen amongst the negro languages susceptible of becoming Pan-African, even if it isn't Kamerunian.**

4.- In the beginning, the two foreign languages of the colonialist and neo-colonialist countries will still be able to be used, at the same time as the policy defined above will be launched.

**5.- All retrograde superstitions will be fought against. Particularly those that have been introduced into our country by foreigners.**

**Secret societies and other undeclared sects, which are always infiltrated by the imperialist secret services will also be fought against.**

6.- Recuperation of all national cultural wealth that has been pillaged by slave-traders and all the imperialists during the last centuries.

7.- Develop national and popular theatre, cinema, litterature and arts.

8.- Guarantee free artistic creation. Let the popular masses be the judges of artistic production. Fight any attempt to define or impose an « official art ». But also fight all that, under the pretext of « universal culture », aims in reality at subjecting the African People to another's culture.

9.- Develop a genuine co-operation with all the Peoples and countries who accept to do so.

## VII.- CARRY OUT A POPULAR AND NATIONAL POLICY OF EDUCATION

### A - GENERAL PRINCIPLES

**1.- In the Popular Kamerun under the direction of the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, school will be entirely free at all levels. It will be compulsory from 4 to 16 age at least.**

**2.- Education will be laic, national, totally and exclusively in the hands and at the charge of the popular State.**

3.- Illiteracy **must disappear from our country as soon as possible.** Students and pupils shall be mobilized at this great task of national and popular interest.

The alphabetization campaign will be launched at the scale of the whole country, with scientific methods, with a sound organization, trained officers and sufficient means secured by the government. It will have nothing in common with such unprepared operations as the so-called

« school under the three » of the NCU, which has lamentably failed, as a result of the sabotaging policy of the obscurantist and anti-popular regime of the NCU party, and despite the good will of the masses and the youth.

4.- Make the contents of education radically become independent from neocolonialism from whence it comes. The curriculum and contents must be completely changed. The « Agreements » signed by the Ahidjo and clique NCU regime with their masters, concerning education, will be revised.

5.- The shape of education shall also radically change. The relations between teachers and those taught, teachers between each other, scholastic administration with teachers and those taught shall equally change. So will also do the relations between parents and the above mentioned categories.

On all levels, scholastic establishments will be democratically administrated. Parents, pupils, teachers and other workers will participate in the instruments of care and administration of the establishments according to the terms defined by the State after democratic consultations with the representative organizations.

6.- **In all the average school, (roughly 10 to 16 years of age), theoretic and practical education shall be closely bound and compulsory for all young Kamerunians.** It will be a question of breaking down the wall between « general theoretic » education (for an « elite »), and technical education (for « not-so-good » ones). All Kamerunian children should have the same education until at least the age of 16.

**From the average school to University, all pupils and students will participate each year, during a fixed perlod**

**of time to production in State farms and co-operatives or in nationalized firms (but never in private plantations or farms). According to the nature of the work, the age of the students and their level of education, they will be able or not, to be mixed to professional workers.**

7.- In its contents as in its shape, education shall widely call upon the creative and reflection abilities of the young.

In order to do this, teachers shall have received and continue to receive adequate training. They shall dispose of good work conditions (premises, time-tables, sizes of class, etc...) in order that they give the best of themselves. **As soon as conditions will allow it, they should participate each year, for a certain period of time, in production in the nationalized firms next to the workers**

8.- **Education shall cease to be an implement of social selection**. It shall become a mean for the citizens to open out in order to permit them to efficaciously contribute to the popular Revolution. **Revolutionary formation of the youth will be part of their education.**

9.- The literature-dominant disciplines will not be neglected. But, because of the necessities in developing productive forces to satisfy the needs of our People, priority will be granted to the scientific-dominant disciplines. This concerns technological disciplines, pure and applied mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, agronomy, economics, medicine and pharmacy, etc...

Study of the History of AFRICA will be more particularly developed, in a scientific perspective. **The countless falsification crimes of the History of Africa, committed by the slave-traders, the imperialists, all the reaction and their accomplices, will be displayed.** The geography of

Africa will be studied so that the young Kamerunians know their homeland well.

**10. Workers will be able to have access to school at all levels. including university. The education system shall be organized in such a way to guarantee the right to this possibility.**

## B - THE MEANS OF THE POPULAR POLICY FOR EDUCATION

**11.-** Train teachers in sufficient number and quality, on all levels.

Teachers should periodically recycle on all levels. They will have the possibility to follow their university training.

**12.-** Build wherever necessary scholastic establishments on all levels from nursery school to university. The starting orientations will be :

1°/ Nursery schools and crèches wherever necessary for children. This will permit an effective participation from parents in production tasks.

2°/ Every group of hamlets or close small villages, every village, every town district, must have its well-equiped school.

3°/ Every group of close villages, every sufficient populated small town, every large town district must have at least a small well-equipped secondary school.

4°/ Each subdivision (or that which replace it) must have at least one large well-equipped secondary school.

**13.-** Our People must be united. In the average school, large scholastic establishments,, where hundreds and thousands of young Kamerunians assemble, should also contribute to carry into effect this unity. The system of boarding-schools and students' halls of residence will also contribute to this.

Consequently, Popular Power will generalize the large establishments in the divisional level and towns. It will develop boarding-schools and students' halls of residence for the young Kamerunians who will learn how to live together as from adolescence.

In boarding-schools and students' halls of residence, life will be democratic. Pupils and students will freely elect Committees which will participate in the running of the establishments.

**14.-** A special transport system will be developed for children going to and coming from school, wherever necessary.

**15.- If scholastic requisites are not free, school cannot be free.** In order that the State gives free requisites to children in schools, **it is necessary that the books and other requisites be made in Kamerun.** Popular Power will therefore start up a policy in this direction. It will also be able to participate in the setting up of such a policy on African scale, at least regional.

**16.-** Building of libraries will be developed in schools and outside schools.

**17.-** An audacious policy of scientific and technical research will be developed.

## VIII. - FIGHT RESPITELESS FOR AFRICAN UNITY

1. - All the History of AFRICA has widely proved the profound UNITY of the African Peoples. The present neo-colonial period confirms the fundamental accuracy of the theses of PAN-AFRICANISM. **The struggle of the African Peoples demonstrates the necessity of the Unity of Africa.**

From now on, only the imperialists, the slave-traders, the African neo-colonial bourgeoisie and all sorts of reactionary forces, have any interest in keeping up the division of the African Peoples.

**As for the matter of Pan-Africanism, the fundamental positions of the African nationalist petty-bourgeoisie have shown proof of their complete inconsistency. This class has fallen into line with the bourgeois theses of the unification of Africa through economist** (82) **and diplomatic channels.**

**The failure of the OAU is already of common knowledge, beyond doubt, and impossible to hide. This failure is the most flagrant expression of the impotence of petty-bourgeois Panafricanism.**

**That is why, within the very framework of the revolutionary struggle against neo-colonialism, it is necessary to have consequent Pan-African positions. In so far as is possible, and in any case as soon as conditions allow it, the struggle of the Kamerunian People within the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, must clearly fit into a revolutionary Pan-African strategy.**

2. - **Revolutionary Pan-Africanism must not be limited to a « solidarity ».** The MANIDEM is struggling and must fight respiteless, so that the Kamerunian workers always clearly place the real Independence and the Transition to

Socialism in our country, in the framework of a POLITICALLY UNITED AFRICA.

**KAMERUN, during the struggle against neo-colonialism as well as after the victory by the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, will do all that is possible for the birth of the UNION of the SOCIALIST REPUBLICS of AFRICA.**

**3.-** In the perspective of the UNION of the SOCIALIST REPUBLICS of AFRICA, Popular Power will seize every adequate opportunity to carry active contribution from Kamerun to the definition and the setting up of a revolutionary economic integration policy of AFRICA.

**4.-** Give constant and dynamic support to the African Peoples struggling against imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction, racialism and the African bourgeois dictatorships, for genuine independence, Socialism and the Political Unity of Africa.

**5.- Bring a dynamic contribution to the adoption of a Pan-African language for communication.**

## IX.- CARRY OUT AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY, ACCORDING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES, OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE IN THE WORLD

**1.-** Fight against any attempt at foreign trusteeship in our country, in any field whatsoever.

For this, develop the spirit of sacrifice, and rely above all on our own force.

2.- Denounce all neo-colonial Unequal Treaties signed by the NCU traitors, on all their dispositions which sell our country to foreigners.

**3.- Never accept a foreign military base on our soil. Never belong to any military bloc. Never accept that our country be used as a basis for agression against any People.**

4.- Develop in all fields, friendship and co-operation with all countries that want to, especially with Socialism, Revolution, genuine democracy and peace-loving forces all through the world.

# PART III

## IMMEDIATE CLAIMS FOR THE WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE

The revolutionary measures contained in Part II of this PROGRAMME can of course be carried into effect only by **a Popular Regime.** They necessitate that power be in the hands of the workers. The NCU bourgeois regime or any other bourgeois regime cannot carry them into effect.

But the People's conditions of life are pitiful. **It is necessary to fight for their immediate improvement. The political conditions under which live and struggle the Kamerunians masses need to be widened. Our People need to enjoy more liberty from now onwards.**

That is why the MANIDEM CURRENT believes that it is absolutely necessary to develop and intensify, from now on, a vast campaign. This campaign must be carried out around **concrete and precise claims. The claims must be satisfied by the NCU regime. Economic means exist in our country for that. The regime of the bourgeoisie must not and cannot evade the nessity to satisfy these perfect rightful claims of the Kamerunian People.**

These claims turn around the main and urgent problems which touch the daily life of all Kamerunians.

## I. - ENOUGH OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN THE ARMY !

1. - Suppression of the French Military Mission (83) ! Independence for the Kamerunian Army !

2. - Suppression of the « technical advisors » in the army, the State police force (Gendarmerie) and the Police ! The Kamerunian officers are not children. Some of them have been to the same military schools as their French « advisors ». Others have been in the same wars as their « advisors ». So, what can they learn from such « advisors » ?

3. - End of tribalist and regionalist practices in the army, the State police force and the Police ! Promotion for people according to their merit !

## II. - STOP CORRUPTION AND FAVOURITISM ! ENOUGH OF DICTATORSHIP AND ARBITRARINESS !

1. - Corruption must cease in the Administration. **All the « big guys » who embezzle millions to grow rich from the People should be hit with severe prison penalties.** It is demagogic to solely attack the minor officials who are authors of small embezzlements. Even worse, it is criminal to condemn young people to death because poverty pushed them to take a tin of sardines or a piece of bread. These death sentences are pure and simple assassinations.

2.- **Favouritism must be firmly fought against. We are tired of « backstairs » influence everywhere.** In the services open to the public, people should be served without being taken into account whether they are « big guy » to be served. Everybody should be served in turn : the first arrived should be the first served, « big guy » or not « big guy ».

3.- **We are fed up with arbitrary arrests. Nobody should be arrested without a precise and publicly formulated charge !**

**No arbitrary confinement ! Everyone arrested and accused should rapidly be prosecuted before a court of justice ! He or she should have full and entire possibility to choose his or her counsel for the defence !**

4.- **Enough of torturing ! Enough of police brutalities !** Even during the colonial period, the Kamerunians struggled against tortures inflicted on patriots by the colonialists. Now, 20 years after independence, Kamerunians torture other Kamerunians who haven't committed any crime, not stolen anything. **The NCU and its SEDOC are worst than the colonialists !**

**All the authors of brutalities and tortures must be severely punished ! The SEDOC must disappear with its BMM and its informers !**

5.- **The most elementary human rights are scoffed at !** Freedom of the press doesn't exist. Freedom of opinion doesn't exist. Trade-Union freedom doesn't exist. Freedom of association doesn't exist. Voting isn't free. Freedom to go on strike doesn't exist for the workers. The secret of correspondance isn't respected. **In fact, there isn't any freedom. We are living under a dictatorial regime of the worst sort.**

**All these liberties,** which are in fact « guaranteed » by a « Constitution » that is trampled underfoot by the NCU itself, **must be fought for.**

6.- No party should impose its card as an official identity paper. The NCU card must cease to be demanded during identity controls. **Down with the pot-bellieds' card that nearly nobody takes freely !**

## III.- ANOTHER SOCIAL POLICY IS IMMEDIATELY NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE !

Without struggling, there will never be anything for the workers under the NCU regime. That is why the following claims must be fought for now. Their satisfaction is materially rapidly possible. It suffices that the regime, whose « big guys » are rolling in money and bathing in alcohol and luxury, take the money there where it is.

### A - CLAIMS FOR ALL THE POPULATION

**1.- No more taxes for a person without a job. Complete suppression of all taxes on all individuals whose monthly incomes are below 50 000 F CFA.**

**Life is already impossible as it is with such an income, because of rising prices that the bourgeois NCU government is incapable of controlling.**

2.- **Medical treatment (consultations, medicine, ...) must be completely free for all Kamerunians having a monthly income below 100,000 F CFA.** This system will be financed by employers through a tax. The government will pay a tax for its own employees. As for the workers in private entreprises, the tax, which must be paid by the employer for each wage-earner, will be in proportion to the turn-over of the firm.

**Immediate establishment of a social security for all wage-earners whose monthly income is above 100,000 F CFA.** The assessment will be partly paid by the wage-earners and partly paid by the employers including the government. Each wage-earner will himself pay 20 % of the amount of his assessment and his employer will pay 80 %.

3.- **Studies, boarding expenses and scholastic requisites must be completely free for all young Kamerunians whose parents' monthly income is below 100,000 F CFA.**

**No more classes with more than 30 pupils, neither in primary nor in secondary schools.**

**Better training of teachers, in number and in quality !** Teachers have a right to training as their profession is difficult ! Teachers need good work conditions !

**The government and its great boasting « big guys » must favorize an atmosphere of work and seriousness in our schools, instead of showing an example of dissolute living to the young.** Enough of looking for the scape-goats amongst the teachers facing scholastic failures, whilst at the same time, the regime does everything to convince that it is easier to succeed by fiddles and dissolute living !

4.- Construction, by the government and the capitalists, of at least 20,000 decent homes a year, for the modest-incomed workers and their families. Their rents should not exceed a quarter of the minimum income.

5.- Stop to all real estate speculation from the fat newly-rich bourgeois such as : El Hadj Onana Awana, Abdou Youssouf Epée Ngando André Michel, Adamou Fouda Mbarga André, Petit Mbarga Mboa dit le Prodigue, Soppo Priso Tricky, Frank Capone Nassourou and his master Barbatoura Birawandu, Sakéo Mongo Sot, Aurélien-le-bien-peigné Etèki Mboumoua, Mangeur-de-porc Tanko Kongo Hassan, etc...

**6.- Creation of at least 50,000 jobs a year, with priority to industry and agro-industry.** For a country with a population of 8 millions, one and a half million of unemployed, is TOO MANY !

7.- Real development of food culture to feed the population who suffers from food shortage.

**Severe forbidding of all food produce and meat exportation, whilst the People are hungry.** The fat bourgeois who export food to Gabon and elsewhere to make big money must be severely restrained. And not only by the lies in the dishonest NCU newspaper « Cameroon Tribune ». Down with the starvers of the People !

**8.- There must be a great severity in price control and the repression of smuggling. The guilty-ones and accomplices, who are for the most part NCU leaders, should be publicly denounced and severely punished.**

9.- Creation of Parents' Councils, democratic and independent from any political party, in primary and secon-

dary schools. These Councils should be able to decide on administrative, financial and material problems of the school, especially : uniform, financing buildings, upkeep of the premises, corporal punishment to the pupils, requisite, time-tables, etc...

**10.-** Immediate closure of all establishments and other places practising open or disguised segregation against Negros. One cannot claim to fight against apartheid in South Africa and let it develop in Kamerun.

## B - CLAIMS FOR SALARIED WORKERS

**11.- Fixing of a minimum wage for the workers in all sectors, including agriculture workers, all the semi-proletarian wage-earners, small employees and minor civil servants.**

**This minimum wage should be at least 25,000 F CFA (value July 1, 1978) per month for 40 hours work per week.** It should be mobile and pegged on prices rises. It should be therefore brought up to date at least once every six months, in order that the workers' purchasing power is at least held.

**12.-** The highest wage should not exceed 10 times the lowest wage. The present wage-range, which allows the satraps (Managing Directors and other Governors) to earn sometimes up to 100 times the workers' wage, is scandalous. Down with the satraps !

**13.-** The working day for wage-earners must not last longer than 8 hours, neither for men nor for women, nor

for the workers in factories, on building sites, dockers, railway workers, miners..., nor for agricultural workers (CDC, OCB, SOCAPALM, SAFA, etc...).

14.- Improvement, at the employers' expense, of **security conditions** for male and female workers in factories, transport, mines, building sites, as well as male and female agricultural workers.

Instituting of infirmaries in all factories, firms and others.

15.- Abolishment of all night work with the exception of health, energy and transport workers, in precise and necessary cases. In the case of night work, the correspondent wage will have to be decided through a **mutual agreement** by the workers and the employers, plus special bonuses to be paid by employer to worker.

16.- Forbidding of making young people work in factories or plantations under 18 years of age.

17.- Legalization and **application in actual fact, of the right to go on strike and trade-union freedom for all the workers in all sectors of activity, as well as students.**

18.- Full payment of days off from work through illness and industrial injuries for wage-earning workers, upon presentation of a medical certificate, without the need of any other justificatory.

**19 - Free election of personnel delegates in firms, with secret ballot, and without imposed or « proposed » lists by the NCU, the UNTC or the government.**

**20.** - Constitution of genuine Joint Production Committees in the hands of the workers.

**21.** - Immunity for all workers' representatives in the fulfillment of their function, whatever be the opinions put forward in this framework.

**22.** - **Equal work, equal pay ! No more any discrimination either against women or against young people concerning incomes !**

**23.** - **Establishment of firm canteens to allow the workers to take refreshment at midday.** The canteens should be compulsorily built by the goverment or private firms. The government should refuse permission to set up or continue to function to any firm which doesn't ensure, directly or indirectly, any canteen for its employees. The cost of the meal should be reasonable.

**24.** - Development of collective transport for workers to go to and come from work. This transport should be paid for by the employers.

## C - CLAIMS FOR THE PEASANTS

**25.** - Transformation of the FONADER (National Fund for Rural Development) into a bank that really is for peasants.

Up until now, the FONADER has been a bank only for the bourgeois who want to develop big agricultural estates or who want to drive around Yaoundé in a Mercédès.

Such a transformation of the FONADER demands the following measures :

1°/ The credits from FONADER must stop being given to governors, prefects, under-prefects, high officers, general secretaries in ministries, and pot-bellies. **All the money from the FONADER to poor and medium peasants !**

2°/ Participation of Autonomous Committees of poor and medium peasants in the equal running of the FONADER. These peasants' Committees should be freely constituted, without any interference from the NCU nor from the UNTC.

3°/ In order to have an efficacious setting-up of these peasants' Committees, free amalgamation of peasants is necessary, with investments for the modernization of their land cultivations. The government must supply these sums of money to the poor and medium peasants.

**26.- Stop expropriation of poor and medium peasants by the government !**

**27.- Stop land speculation ! The bourgeois must stop their fiddles and underhand practices on land ! No more pieces of peasant land must fall into bourgeois' hands !**

**28.-** Stop characterized thefts by big land-owning and trading bourgeois against the peasants : uneven weighing scales during the weighing of cocoa, coffee, ... ; lies about the so-called poor quality of the produce, especially cocoa, coffee, bananas, etc...

**29.-** In order that the cocoa and coffee price stabilization Funds stop being falsefy untrue, it is necessary :

1°/ That the prices of these produces be effectively pegged by the government on the prices of the produces bought by the peasants. In such a way that each time the prices of the latters go appreciably up, the Fund also puts up the prices of cocoa and coffee.

2°/ That the stabilization Funds be at least generalized to all main produces.

**30. - Complete suppression of taxes for all poor and medium Kamerunian peasants who practically don't have any serious income.**

## D - SPECIFIC CLAIMS FOR WOMEN

**31.** - Stop any discrimination against women, whatever be the field concerned !

**32.** - Heavy penalties, as soon as there is a complaint, against the « big guys » who spend the best of their time in incitement to vice and keep Kamerunian girls into prostitution.

**33.** - Adoption of a maternity leave, with full wages for salaried women, during a minimum of 14 weeks ; and the mother must be guaranteed to get her job back after her leave.

**34.** - Adoption of a delivery allowance of 10,000 F CFA for each childbirth, to every Kamerunian mother, in one or another of the following cases :

— celibate non-salaried mother,

— celibate salaried mother whose salary is less than 50,000 F CFA per month,

— married mother, but whose family total incomes are less than 50,000 F CFA per month.

This allowance aims at aiding the mother and families to get the minimum that is needed for the child. As the latter will tomorrow become a Kamerunian producer, it is quite normal that the country takes care of him from his birth.

**35.** - Possibility for a salaried mother, to get a special leave, without annoyances, if her child is ill. In this case, the boss must not at all threaten to lay off the mother.

**36.** - The dowry system must be abolished. If the families of the newly-married couple want to meet at their children's wedding and give an entertainment, this is only natural. But it is completely different from the selling and buying of the woman like commodities.

**37.** - Freedom for each woman (like every man) to divorce, whenever she is under a polygamic marriage system or not, if she asks to. All vexatious measures and petty annoyances of the civil service against women who want to divorce, must cease.

**38.** - The government must launch and intensify a determined struggle against the pimps.

**39.** - Possibility to get contraceptives in government hospitals after a doctor's decision.

# LEXICON

The references after each Note refer to the page number where the word or expression is used for the first time, as well as to the Notes the reading of which gives a better comprehension to the one that is being read.

1. — **Socialism, Transition to Socialism.**

**Socialism** is a social doctrine which developed at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th. This doctrine appeared at the same time as modern industry, and the two social classes which are attached to this latter : the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the proletariat (workers) on the other hand. In spite of their diversity, all Socialism variants advocate the necessity of a social justice society. But how does and will one attain this justice society ? Various replies have been given to this leading question.

— The UTOPIANIST SOCIALISTS imagined ideal societies, but failed to give the means to realize them. Therefore, although their theories are generous, they don't exceed much more than the revolt-cry stage against the injustices of the bourgeois society. The most well-known amongst them were SAINT-SIMON (1760-1825). Charles FOURIER (1772-1837) and Robert OWEN (1771-1858).

— SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, which was elaborated by Karl MARX (1818-1883) and his friend Friedrich ENGELS

(1820-1895), approaches the problem in a completely different way. Without trying to imagine « in the mind » an ideal society, it starts off from a concrete and thorough analysis of the capitalist society, the actual society. Like others have done beforehand, Scientific Socialism theorists established a fundamental fact. This is the opposition between the possessing and exploiting classes (headed by the bourgeoisie) on the one hand, and the unpossessing and exploited classes (headed by the proletariat) on the other hand. This opposition finds expression in a permanent struggle between the two camps : **class struggle.** Scientific Socialism shows then that **a fairer society will only be able to arise from the present society, and not at all from the imagination of a thinker, no matter how brilliant. This arising will necessarily be the result of class struggle. It will result in the victory of the working class and its allies over the bourgeoisie and its accomplices, THROUGH A SOCIAL REVOLUTION. This Revolution will open the way to a new society : THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY.**

The First workers' revolution which achieved victory in History was « La Commune de Paris », in France. It snatched away the political power from the French bourgeoisie in 1871. But it lost the power only few months afterwards, due to inexperience and above all insufficient firmness towards the bourgeois reactionaries who set back into place their system.

Ii is the **Socialist Revolution of October 1917** in Russia, that put into a concrete form, for the first time, in a lasting way, the discoveries and brilliant theories of MARX and ENGELS. This Revolution was brought to victory by Russian workers and peasants, guided by the Bolshevik Party led by Vladimir Ilitch OULIANOV, better known under his clandestine name of Lenin (1870-1924). Lenin has brought decisive elements in the development of the

theory of MARX and ENGELS. This is why eversince, Scientific Socialism is also called **Marxism-Leninism.**

« Between the capitalist society and the communist society, stands the revolutionary transformation period of that one into this one. To which corresponds a POLITICAL TRANSITION period during which the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat », Karl MARX said. This society of the TRANSITION period is called the SOCIALIST SOCIETY, or more generally SOCIALISM.

But Kamerun is a neo-colonized country. Its capitalism is only at the beginning of its development. For this reason, among others, the passage to Socialism itself necessitates a transition period. This will be the **Transition Period to Socialism.**

— See page 9. See also Notes 7 and 13 (Classes and class-struggle) and pages 45-46 of the text, Point 6.

2 — **Neo-colonialism.**

By Neo-Colonialism, or New Colonialism, one understand a set of government or para-government measures implemented by imperialist countries. These countries may act collectively or each alone, whether they are former colonial powers or not. In this neo-colonial system, the under-developed countries and their peoples enjoy only a show of international sovereignty. While the neo-colonial measures aim at maintaining or reducing the dominated countries under the situation of simple source of welfare and economic, military and cultural power for industrialized capitalist countries. (Here, « para-government » means : which the government doesn't take publicly upon itself, such as coups d'état fomented by its intelligence services, landind of mercenaries, etc...).

One may distinguish 4 specific forms of Neo-Colonialism, which may exist independently one from another in different countries, but which may also exist together, at the same time and in one and the same country.

1°/ Metropolitan Neo-Colonialism.

It is the neo-colonialism which is characteristic of the neo-colonial relations (when they exist) between a former colonial power and its former colony. In this case, the independence of the latter consists on nothing else but the setting up of a puppet state. The former colonialists dress in discrete « advisors and technical assistants ». The mechanisms of political domination take the virtuous name of « co-operation ». As for the economical, military and cultural domination of the former colonial power, it remains fundamentally the same and even more, sometimes it is worsened by the local puppets' zeal.

2°/ Collective Neo-Colonialism, or Re-Colonization by « Aid ».

This is the form of neo-colonialism which takes place and acts through « international aid » thanks to « Cooperation » Agreements. It also acts through the intervention of international economic and financial bodies. For more than 90 % of the cases, the « aid » of capitalist countries is a re-colonization mechanism. Profits earned from this mechanism by the countries which « give aid », are many times larger than the sums « given as aid ».

3°/ The Neo-Colonialism of the Multinational Companies.

This form of neo-colonialism derives from the fact that when multinational Cies are strongly established in a country, they act and lie heavy, sometimes in a decisive way, on the economic and social life of the country. This neo-colonialism of the multinationals will more and more

become the way of american imperialism penetration in Africa. Because the most important multinationals are US-dominated.

4°/ The Gendarmerie -Neo-colonialism.

It is the fact of an imperialist country, which pretends to be the champion of the neo-colonial interests of all imperialist powers, up and including in dominated countries which are out of its « influencial zone ». Such an imperialist country goes on as gendarme of the so-called « Free World ». This is the part French governments try to play more and more, since the French bourgeoisie, led by Giscard d'Estaing and his friends, has agreed to make France take its cue from the USA on foreign policy matters.

— Page 10. See part I, Point 7.

3. — **Imperialist domination.**

Domination exercised, thanks to their economic and military power, by imperialist countries over colonized and neo-colonized countries. This domination aims above all at exploiting the raw materials and the workers of the dominated countries, in order to enrich the bourgeoisies of the imperialist countries.

— Page 10.

For the word « Imperialism », see Part I, Point 2 (page 22 to 23).

**4. — Nazi.**

Nazis are the partisans of Nazism. Nazism is a monstruous political doctrine conceived around 1930 by the German politician Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). This racist

doctrine was put into practice before and during World War II by Hitler's partisans. Nazism proclaims the superiority of the Aryan race, the nucleus of which is supposed to be formed by Germans in Hitler's theory. This led to an attempt to exterminate the Jews, and Nazis projected to do the same thing to Negros, considered as « pollutants to the superior race ».

The nazi doctrine has been taken up in our days, under the denomination of « apartheid », by the white colonial minority of settlers in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Many of the present leaders of this white minority were furthermore nazi militants during World War II. Such is the case of John Vorster, former Prime Minister and President of South Africa. He belonged to the nazi organization called Ossewa Brandwag.

Apartheid refuses any right to negros in their own country. In Namibia, about 70,000 whites dominate 1 million negros. In Zimbabwe, until the end of 1979, 250,000 whites were dominating more than 6 millions negros, etc... All this develops thanks to the support that these nazis receive from imperialist countries like France, Britain, Western Germany, the United States of America, etc...

In fact, many of the people who, during World War II, came to ask the help of the African Peoples against nazis, when nazism was against the whites, are the same ones who support apartheid the most actively today, from the moment when it's a nazism THAT IS ONLY against negros.

— Page 10.

## 5. — International Financial Capital.

Capital which comes from the merger, on a world scale, of bank capital and industrial capital. This merger has resulted in the concentration of a colossal mass of capital

and economic means in the hands of a small minority of people. From this fact, large political power is within the hands of those people. The forming of the International Financial Capital (abreviated here : IFC) was made at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. IFC is held by the large banks and big companies from imperialist countries. The most notorious representatives of these people in Kamerun are for example : the Société Générale des Banques, the Banque Internationale de l'Afrique Occidentale or BIAO (International Bank of West Africa), the Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie-Cameroun or BICIC (Cameroun-International Bank for Trade and Industry), the Chase Manhattan-Cameroun, ALUCAM-Péchiney, Bastos, ...

— Page 10. See also notes 34, 35 and 36.

6. — **Capitalism.**

As in slave society or feudal society, capitalism is a sort of social organization where prevails the exploitation of the majority by a minority. In slave society, the slave is exploited by his master : **free men exploit slaves.** In feudal society (example : Northern Kamerun with the lamibé who are Ahidjo's friends within the NCU), exploitation is shown by the quantity of work that the poor peasants accomplish on the land of the lords who have confiscated the land (lamibé in Northern Kamerun). Or also by the fact that the peasants should compulsorily deliver part of their harvest free-on-charge to their masters. **Feudalists, lords, exploit peasants, the « populace ».**

The capitalist society, or capitalism, is characterized by two essential elements. The essentials used to produce (means of production) are secured by a small minority of people, who have also confiscated means of exchange. These are the bourgeois, the capitalists. The majority of

people, who turn more into workers, don't possess anything else but their « work force », which HAS ALSO BECOME A MERCHANDISE which can be bought and sold like any other mercandise. The price of the merchandise « work force » is called WAGES. Capitalist exploitation is however masked by the monetary shape of wages. Indeed, this exploitation resides in the following fact that the capitalist steals from the worker part of the latter's work. Because the capitalist pays a wage to the worker against which the worker must do a certain amount of work. But the capitalist makes the worker work long enough so that the value created by the worker over-takes the wage that is paid. The worker therefore produces a supplementary value by doing « overwork ». This « surplus-value » produced by the worker is pocketed by the capitalist FOR NOTHING, WITHOUT ANY COUNTER-PART. This is what lies at the bottom of the wealth of the capitalists and the poverty and misery of the workers.

But as in every society based on exploitation, capitalism contains the buds of its own destruction. Opposition between capitalists and workers is fundamental and impossible to settle. This opposition can be resolved only by a social Revolution, wich strikes the our for Socialism first step towards the Communist society.

— Page 10. See also Note 1 ; and Part 1, Points 9 to 11, page 27 to 29.

7. — **Social Class.**

A group of people in a society, who have the same social interests because of the identical place they hold in social production on one hand, as well as their identical relations in connection with implements used to produce (means of production) and to exchange what is produced (means of exchange). The relations that mem-

bers of a social class have in connexion with means of production and exchange, can be **ownership relations** (capitalists in the capitalist society for instance, but also peasants who own part of land), or **non-ownership relations** (the case of workers and poor peasants in capitalist society). Under capitalism, as in other exploitation societies, these relations for the various classes relating to the means of production and exchange, are the basis of everything. **That is why any real change in the capitalist society needs the radical change of these relations. Workers must radically change the situation by expropriating the bourgeois. This expropriation will create the basis of a change for other social relations.**

— Page 10. See also the following pages of the Introduction, and Part I, Points 9 to 12 (page 27 to 31), and Point 16 (page 33 to 34).

8. — **Neo-Colonial bourgeoisie.**

This is a parasitic bourgeois class, which came into being at the time of recovery of the juridic independence by colonized countries. Its birth was fomented by imperialism who, before « leaving » the colonies, NEEDED FRIENDS AND PUPPETS ON THE SPOT, who would continue the same exploitation system, with a « wage » of breadcrumbs. From whence the qualificative word « neo-colonial » is tied with this class.

— Page 10. See also the following Notes 9 and 10 ; and Part I, Points 7 (page 25) and 13 (page 31).

9. — **Bureaucratic bourgeoisie.**

Fraction of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie, generally of intellectual origin, which takes the essential of its ressources from the fact that it holds administrative offices.

These administrative offices are held in the civil service of the neo-colonial government. Many people of this class spend much of their time organizing fiddles and misappropriations of millions from public funds, delivering themselves to corruption, theft and speculations of all kinds.

— Page 10. See also Note 8 above.

10. — **Comprador bourgeoisie.**

Class of trade sharks in dominated countries. Its qualificative « comprador » comes from the fact that it is directly linked with foreign interests. And this, since the period of direct colonialism.

The appearance of Neo-Colonialism led to the moulding together of the **comprador bourgeoisie** and the **bureaucratic bourgeoisie** into one single class : the **neo-colonial bourgeoisie,** deeply linked and submitted to foreigners.

— Page 10. See Notes 8 and 9.

11. — **Socialism.**

When we speak here of **Socialism,** we mean SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM such as it is briefly sketched in Note 1 above. and as all this Programme suggests it. The type of slogans like « African Socialism », « Human-faced Socialism », etc... are only deception attempts to turn the workers away from Scientific Socialism.

— Page11. See Note 1 above.

12. — **Formal Independence**

Independence emptied of its contents. It's a false independence, an Independence which is untrue, not genuine.

Since 1960, Kamerun has a flag, a national anthem, ministers and even a President. But, in truth, it's always the French and their British, US and German friends who decide upon everything that is important. Take an example : currency. Each independent country has its own currency. It keeps its savings at home, as this enables it to buy merchandise from abroad. Now, the savings for Kamerun (gold and currency reserves) are deposed with the French, in Paris, in the French Treasury. In order that a Kamerunian tradesman does business in Italy, he must first of all go through Paris. And France uses this money for her own requirements, for with capitalists, money never stays sleeping. France lends this money (ours) and collects profits which she doesn't give us. So, what is this sort of « independence » ? It's wind.

— Page 11.

13. — **Class struggle.**

Inevitable clashes in a society divided into social classes. More or less openly, more or less consciously, class struggle opposes classes which have opposed interests. It assumes various shapes : demonstrations, strikes, sabotages, open electoral campaigns if the regime is democratic and that each class can freely organize its own legal party, popular uprisings, armed struggle, revolution, etc... Lies and underhand work to deceive the People are also class struggle demonstrations, for it is then a question of making so that the consciousness of the exploited classes on the real reasons for their poverty not be clear. **In a class society like present Kamerun, practically everything that the dominating class (the bourgeoisie) does, aims at re-enforcing its class domination and, from this fact, belongs to the class struggle. On their side, the dominated classes should also have a sys-**

**tematic behaviour in this class fight.** « Class struggle is the driving power of Universal History ».

— Page 11. See note 1.

14. — **Petty-bourgeoisie.**

Social class quite differentiated, into which are put several categories of people. 1° Those who, whilst being owners of means of production or exchange (or both), don't necessarily exploit others' work : for example the case of small and medium peasants, artisans, small tradespeople, etc. 2° Those who don't necessarily possess means of production and exchange : this is the case of minor civil servants, employees, teachers, doctors, small clergy, intellectuals, etc...

The petty-bourgeoisie is in an « intermediate position » between the bourgeoisie (exploiting and dominating class) and the working and poor peasantry classes (the most exploited and dominated classes in our country).

— Page 12.

15. — **Objective position.**

A position independent of the opinion of any individual « goodwill », to that which is taken individually. **In capitalist society, the workers are OBJECTIVELY the class which is the most interested in a radical revolutionary change of society.** This doesn't depend on anybody's intentions taken individually. This does not even depend upon the effective revolutionary consciousness that the workers can have at one time or another, EVEN THOUGH THIS REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS is NECESSARY FOR THEM TO EFFECTIVELY REALIZE THE REVOLUTION. It is simply due to the fact that it is the only class which,

in a well developed capitalist society, possesses absolutely nothing in the way of means of production and exchange (the peasantry still possesses, in spite of everything, a little land), whilst submitting to enormous exploitation.

In the capitalist society, the working class isn't « attached » to anything that must have to be preserved. One can go even further and say that, even if the working-class wanted to preserve something, it would not be able to, as its has NOTHING. In this sense, the situation is independent even from its « intentions » and is therefore objective.

The intellectuals who decide to enter into the underhand work of the NCU put themselves into an OBJECTIVE POSITION which makes them become agents to the dictatorship. And this is so, whatever be their proclaimed intentions. For they are driven to participate thoroughly in the crazy policy of the leading clique of the NCU. The free-lance intellectuals who cunningly oppose the UPC, put themselves into an OBJECTIVE POSITION of people wo refuse to strengthen the popular opposition to the dictatorship. For they refuse to reply positively to the appeal from the UPC for unity, on clear bases, of all patriots, in the MANIDEM MOVEMENT.

— Page 12.

16. — **Feudal land-ownership.**

System of land-ownership which is characterized in the following way : vast stretchs of land are owned by some people who have plundered them by different means, deceptions, trickery, or more often by brutal force, or by all these means combined together. The owners make peasants work on this land for meagre parts of harvests.

This sort of ownership still exists in North Kamerun. The Lamibé possess the land. The peasants cultivate it. They give all the harvest to the lamido who only gives them a meager part for their survival. In North-Kamerun, breeding livestock obeys to the same rules. The NCU finds that this system is very democratic and favours the birth of « solidarity circles » between the lamido and the poor peasants thus exploited.

— Page 12.

17. — **Commercial economy.**

Phase of economy (and social) development where one produces essentially to sell. The direct individual consumption is therefore no longer the main driving power in this production. The actions of purchase and sale become predominant in such a society. The commercial economy therefore differs from AUTOCONSUMPTION ECONOMY. For in this latter, production is solely used for the consumption of the producer (and his family). Commercial economy appears at the time when production is sufficiently developed to a point to exceed individual consumption. It implies work division, which it develops in return.

The first shape of commercial economy was simple commercial economy.

This is the production from peasants and individual artisans, who still own their means of production. In the beginning, exchange started to be made by way of bartering, that means merchandise directly for merchandise. Then money appeared at a further more developed stage. One then speaks of the monetary stage of commercial economy. This form led to CAPITALIST PRODUCTION or CAPITALISM, which is the most developed stage of commercial economy.

— Page 13. See also note 6.

18. — **Class Alliance.**

Agreement which is passed, in social struggle, between certain classes who have close or momentarily convergent interests. This is for example the agreement which exists, in the framework of the MANIDEM, between the workers, poor and medium-peasants, patriots and democratic petty-bourgeoisie against the evil, pot-bellied and rotten clique who leads the NCU, mouthpiece of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie and imperialism. The objective of this alliance is to overthrow the dictatorship and build up Socialism after having installed democracy.

This sort of alliance have nothing to do with the said policy of class-collaboration. Class-collaboration policy signifies undestanding, clear or implicated, of diverse classes in order to « reform » society. As if the Kamerunian workers and poor peasants for example, could « connive » with the pot-bellies of the leading clique of the NCU and the exploiting capitalists, to reform something. That is why, besides, class-collaboration or reformism has always signified and still signifies, the preservation of the interests and the domination of the dominating classes, bourgeoisie in the capitalist system. Class-collaboration is a dupery.
— Page 14.

19. — **Strategy.**

General line of behaviour aiming at ensuring victory in a struggle. One talks for example of the strategy of a political party, of an army. We are talking of the UPC strategy, the MANIDEM strategy.

Strategy is to be distinguished from Tactic. Several different tactics can correspond to the same Strategy. Thus, MANIDEM and the Party strategy at the present time consists, through a wide political mobilization of the

popular masses and a solid organization of the workers to develop the struggle in all ways and by every means, with the view to victory. In the framework of this strategy, the Party and the MANIDEM can adopt, according to the circumstances different tactical measures : appeal to the workers to go on strike which could become general, development of this or that aspect of political work more than this or that, launching of this or that campaign according to the circumstances, etc., etc...

— Page 14.

20. — **Raw materials.**

A raw material is all that, thanks to work, can be transformed into product : mining, vegetable, animal ressources. Raw materials state imposes nonetheless, a primary transformation, even only rudimentary by work. For example : wood which is raw material in the furniture industry, is already a work product from the agricultural worker who felled the trees. Cocoa, which is a raw material for the chocolate industry, is already work-product from the poor peasant or the agricultural worker. Bauxite, which is a raw material in the aluminium industry at Edea, is already the work product of miners. Etc...

— Page 14.

21. — **Social-Democrat.**

Partisan of Social-Democracy. A policy is said to be Social-Democratic when it is inspired from Social-Democracy positions, or blends with these positions.

Until about roughly 1919, Social-Democracy indicated the whole of the Worker Movement, workers' parties. Today, this expression has completely changed its meaning. From this period, it indicates the currents and political parties which preach for gradual transformation

(« little by little ») from the capitalist system by small reforms, without revolution. Experience has shown that such a way really leads to the boosting of class-collaboration, and from this, to the preserving of the bourgeoisie interests. That is why it is right to say that Social Democrats are objectively, allies of the bourgeoisie, even when they fur up in revolutionary, communist organizations.

— Page 14. See also the following Notes.

22. — **International Social-Democracy.**

The Socialist Parties and political forces who are partisan to Social-Democracy, form what is called the International Social-Democracy. Because they are organized on whole world scale. They have an organization called the Socialist International. The parties that really lead and are the most influential in the Socialist International are the German Socialist Party (SPD), in Western Germany, and the Labour Party in Great Britain. These parties' policy in Africa is a monstruous infamy. It is in fact identical to the policy of proudly imperialist governments like those of France or in the United States of America. This infamous policy in Africa by the Social Democrats exposes them to African patriots as authentic « labour lieutenants of the capitalist class ». In Great Britain and in France, they are the ones who made colonial wars with « their » imperialist bourgeoisie against the African Peoples.

— Page 14.

23. — **Reactionary.**

Who opposes progress. The NCU policy is obviously a reactionary policy. A partisan to a reactionary policy is also called a reactionary. Example : the NCU pot-bellied bourgeois are real rank reactionaries. Everything that

is today against the Revolution, against a radical change in our country, is by one degree or another, reactionary. But the behaviour of the revolutionaries with regard to the reactionaries generally varies according to the case and situations.

Synonym : anti-popular.

At times, the world « Reaction » is used to designate the reactionaries as a whole.

— Page 15.

24. — **African Social-Democracy.**

Gathering of local puppets recruited and manipulated by the International Social-Democracy in Africa. The African Social-Democracy is in the making particularly since about 1975. The « latin » reactionary by the name of Leopold Germanicus SENGHOR, slavish puppet of French imperialism, strongly helped along by the French Socialists, has accepted to play the not glistening at all role of chief recruiting agent for this mercenary troup for the Socialist International in Africa.

— Page 15.

25. — **Socialist Country.**

A socialist country is a country where capitalism has been overthrown, and which is on the way to build Socialism, first step towards the Society without social classes : the Communist society.

Presently, there are 14 socialist countries in the world. These are : 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (abreviated : USSR, or oftenly, the Soviet Union), first

socialist State in History, which stands in Europe with some Asiatic Republics. 2. The People's Republic of China, the most populated country in the world (Asia). 3. Albania (Europe). 4. The German Democratic Republic, or GDR (Europe). 5. Bulgaria (Europe). 6. Cuba, the first Socialist State in America and, at the moment, the only one. 7. The Democratic Popular Republic of Corea, or North Corea (Asia). 8. Hungary (Europe). 9. The Popular Republic of Mongolia (Asia). 10. Poland (Europe). 11. Romania (Europe). 12. Czechoslovakia (Europe). 13. Viet-Nam (Asia). 14. Yugoslavia (Europe).

Since the 1960's, serious contradictions have appeared and developped between socialist countries, and the socialist camp form no more a coherent bloc face to the imperialist camp.

Many international groups and currents (mainly leftist) fight socialist countries, and particularly the USSR, sometimes more than they fight imperialism. Sometimes, they manage to draw some Africans into their positions. The UPC and the MANIDEM have nothing to do with these groups and currents. The Kamerunian Revolutionary Movement defines its policy course in full independence vis-à-vis any country without exception, up and including the socialist countries.

Presently in Africa, there is no socialist country. Any African State which proclaims itself socialist in the present conditions, only fools itself thanks to its leaders' phantasms, like Bokassa claiming himself emperor. Such an attitude is unbecoming for the People. The so-called « African socialism » and other « Arab socialism » are nothing but themes of demagogic speeches, aiming at misleading the workers.

— Page 15.

26. — **Communist Party.**

Political party, the objective and effective practice of which aim at the building of the communist society. Communist parties generally present themselves as the « vanguard organizations of the working class ». In certain countries, owing to specific national conditions, the communist party can avoid to clearly bear the name of « Communist Party ». This is what happens for example when the bourgeoisie makes a pretext of this name for banning the party. In other cases, parties struggling for communism bear the name of « Workers' Party », to show that they represent workers, poor peasants, and the whole working masses of the country.

— Page 15.

27. — **Social forces.**

These are social classes and the organizations (parties, trade-unions, various associations) which represent them in society on all levels. These are the various classes' implements which are used in class struggle (for example, the state apparatus forces : the army, various polices, civil servants corps, etc...). These are also various economic forces, human as well as material, which exist in society, as opposed to « supernatural and mystical » forces.

— Page 16.

28 — **Charisma.**

Charisma is a religious word which means the aptitude to have surnatural gifts for the benefit of a community. This word is used in politics (mainly in the expression « charismatic leader » or « charismatic chief ») to suggest that a party-leader or a Head of State has an undisputed

and « indisputable » power, which is quite surnatural, and enjoys an unbounded veneration from his fellow citizens.

This notion of charisma, of charismatic power, derives from a reactionary and obscurantist political conception. All dictators set themselves up as « charismatic leaders ». For instance, Fulbert Youlou, ex-priest who was President of the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville till 1963, used to claim himself « impossible to be overthrown » and « charismatic » ; and of course, his imperialist masters repeated all these sillinesses in chorus : 3 days of popular strikes at Brazzaville in Augut 1963 ended his « charisma » and the imperialists shut up.

The notion of « charismatic leader » is a part of manœuvres to which imperialism has recourse in order to mystify and fool the People. In Kamerun, the neo-colonialists and their NCU puppets don't hesitate to fake History because they want and need to present as a « charismatic leader » their chief-puppet set in power since 1958.

Even in African Revolutionary Movements fighting neo-colonialism, some feudal trends, often due to the lack of ideological and political education, may appear. A party in which all is reduced to a « Founder Leader » and other « Father of the Nation », can generally have no serious constituted structure for a struggle against neo-colonialism. Conversely, a party with solid militant structures cannot be reduced to a Leader, whatever his ability may be. On can notice that in the Kamerunian Revolutionary Movement, Leaders have never been, all along their life, the object of any form of worship. That's why we must firmly reject this theory of « charismatic leader » and « charisma », as a reactionary theory, prejudicial to the Revolution.

— Page 19.

## 29. — **Slave Trade.**

It is reasonable to believe that in all human societies, without exception, slavery has been an inside phenomenon, at a phase or another of their development. Even in Africa, in Asia or in Europe.

The originality of the Negros' slavery lies in the fact that, in addition to this inherent slavery, Black Africa seems to have been the sole Continent where a mass slavery has been carried out by other people than Africans themselves. So, the African historian of Upper-Volta, Ki-Zerbo, points out that, as far back as the first millenial B.C., « the Arab pre-islamic Kingdoms of Yemen and Hadramaout » already did traffic in a certain trade of black slaves coming from Southern and Eastern Africa, « for material woven and metallic things ». The word AZANIA, by which South Africa is sometimes designated, would derive from Arabic, and its first sense would have been « land of slaves ».

Later, from the middle of 15th century A.C. (approximatively), the Europeans began to traffic in a huge trade between Africa, Europe and America. In this trade, the commodities sold and bought were **the Black Man, the Negro.** It is this trade which is known in History as **the Slave Trade.** The (Black) Slave Trade went on without interruption until the end of the 19th century. Some forms still remain nowadays in some reactionary Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) knows all about this matter. But it doesn't say any word and turn blind eye to it. Of course, it is not that which will prevent people like Ahidjo, Dacko, Senghor, Houphouët, Bongo and Mobutu from sleeping quietly in their beds in their marble palaces.

It is the Slave Trade which enabled, not only the European bourgeois to accumulate initial capital into their

hands, but also the laying out to advantage of this money in Europe and America. In spite of some dishonest attempts, as vain as fallacious, in order to FAKE this dramatic period of Africa's and Humanity's History, many observers and historians evaluate today that the Slave Trade has cost to Africa, to a minimum, 200 millions of lives, and that it is one of the main reasons of its backwardness. Anyhow, it is undeniable that the Slave Trade is the largest criminal enterprise, and the most shameful barbarity act that has ever been recorded in the annals of Mankind's History. It is the largest genocid (with that of the Indians of America) that has ever been known in Humanity. The African Peoples could not forget that if they don't want to give up their own History.

— Page 22.

30. — **Primitive Accumulation of Capital.**

Historical phase during which capital and means of production and exchange became concentrated in the hands of a small minority : the future capitalists. This concentration was done by means of bestial brutality. In Europe, primitive accumulation of capital took place, roughly, between the 14th and the 16th century, thanks to the Slave Trade, the pillaging of raw materials all through the world, the expropriation and ferocious and massive exploitation of European peasants. « It was the Slave Trade which laid the foundations of the greatness of Liverpool : for this orthodox town, the trading of the human made up ALL THE METHOD OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION. And up to our time, the notabilities from Liverpool have praised the specific qualities of the Slave Trade « which develops and turn for enterprise to a passion, shapes matchless sailors and brings in enormous amounts of money ». One can read this in a book written in 1795 and

which is quoted by Karl Marx in « Capital ». In the latter, Marx reports how the bourgeois illtreated the European peasants in the 16th century in order to become wealthy after expropriating them :

— Under Henry VIII (1530) : « Robust vagrants will be condemned to whipping and prison... In the case of the repetition of offense, the vagrant should be whipped again and have half of his ear cut off ; at the second repetition of offense, he should be treated as a traitor and executed as a State enemy (Capital, Book I, chapter 28).

— Under Edward VI : An article in the first year of his reign (1547) commands that any individual insubordinate at work will be adjuged as slave to the person who will have denounced him as a good-for-nothing. »

Compare this to the laws that are imposed by Ahidjo and Bokassa today !

— Page 22.

31 — **Free Competitive Capitalism.**

Initial phase of capitalism during which all capitalists were still struggling in conditions that were not too much unequal. This phase preceded the period where several capitalists dominate whole sections of economy. Competition cannot be equal between the small shopkeeper in New Bell (Douala) and the big stores like SCORE or MONOPRIX. The big compel and impose their force on the small who become more and more ruined. It's concentration, inevitable in a capitalist regime, which put an end to free competitive capitalism.

— Page 22.

32. — **Human Productive Forces.**

In order to live, men produce what they need. The forces which are used to produce and which produce what men need are the productive forces.

• Some are material and others are human. Human productive forces are the persons who work in production.

— Page 22.

33. — **Monopoly.**

Large unit of capitalist production or distribution, etc..., controlling, for one or several products, a considerable part of the market, sometimes even the whole of the market. Such a control enables the monopolies to determine prices as they like, and then to realize enormous benefits. For example, in Kamerun, the CAMAIR has the monopoly of air transport ; the Office of National Ralways has that of railway transport. But the large monopolies are those from imperialist countries which control huge sections of the economy, not only in their own countries, but of all the capitalist countries on a world scale. It's the concentration of capital and production which leads to monopolies, and this is inevitable in a capitalist system, as competition leads straight to monopoly through concentration. See for example the small-trade in Kamerun, which inevitably finishes by giving arise to the big tradesmen like Kouam Samuel, Kadji and others.

— Page 22.

34. — **Bank Capital.**

Capital held for their own account or for the account of their clients by banks and other capitalist financial institutions.

— Page 22. See Notes 5, 35 and 36.

35. — **Industrial Capital.**

Capital and other means of production (beside work force), which are invested into the industrial production of merchandise in a capitalist society.

— Page 22. See Notes 5, 34 and 36.

36. — **Financial Capital.**

Financial Capital appeared as the merger of bank capital and industrial capital, distinct during the period of free competitive capitalism when banks were still satisfied in being straightforward payment intermediaries. This appearance, thus linked with banks' new role, marked the appearance of monopolies and of monopoly capital, called imperialism.

— Page 22. See also Notes 5, 34 and 35, as well as Part I, Point 2.

37. — **Oligarchy.**

Small group of profiteers, who hold economic and political powers, and use them against the overwhelming majority of the population. For example the leading clique of the NCU is an oligarchy. Mobutu's clique in the Congo, Bongo's clique in Gabon, etc..., are oligarchies.

— Page 22.

38. — **Multinational Company.**

Large economic enterprise whose capital and owners are from different nationality origins, and which is generally implanted in several countries. For some time now, they are also called « transnationals ». Example : Péchiney-

Ugine-Kuhlmann which dominates ALUCAM, Nestlé, practically all the big oil companies.

Nowadays, one can say that multinational companies represent imperialism in flesh and blood. Their powers and their profits are enormous, sometimes hard to believe. Hence, in 1973, the oil company EXXON (USA) realized in Saudi Arabia, with its partners within the ARAMCO, profits amounting to the phenomenal sum of 800 thousand millions CFA (in one year !).

— Page 23.

39. — **Game preserve.**

Country or group of countries which are linked with an imperialist country, for various reasons (colonization, neo-colonialism, etc...). Every other imperialist country leaves the dominating imperialism almost the sole rights to the pillaging of wealth from the dominated country or countries. When a country, like Kamerun, is the game preserve of an imperialist country like France, things take place as if the latter could go and freely HUNT in the former exactly as for a hunter to whom the others leave a relative « right reserved » on a part of a forest. Thus, African countries called « francophones » (French speaking) are a game preserve for French imperialism, as South America, besides Cuba, is a game preserve for the United States of America.

— Page 23.

40. — **Influencial zone.**

Countries or areas in which imperialist countries « pull the strings » for everything important, owing to the economic, political, military and cultural domination and where, consequently, their influence is determinative. Thus, for-

mer French colonies of Black Africa remain a zone under French influence, as they are simply transformed into French neo-colonies.

— Page 23.

41. — **Bolshevik Party.**

The word « bolshevik » is a Russian word meaning « majority ». Up until 1903, the labour party in Russia was called Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, abreviated POSDR in French. But at the Second Congress of the party in July-August 1903 (held in Brussels, then in London because of persecutions from the Belgian police), serious divergences led to a split. The majority of the party was from then called Bolshevik, whilst the minority was called Menshevik, which means « minority ».

— Page 24.

42. — **Communist Society.**

**Society without classes**, of which the socialist society is the first necessary step, after the overthrowing of capitalism by Revolution from the working class and its allies the poor peasants and other labourers. In so far as classes will have disappeared in Communist Society, the State will cease being a necessity and will therefore disappear. This condition in itself puts necessarily Communist Society in a historical perspective : **the transition from capitalism to communism is a whole historical period.**

— Page 24. See also Note 1.

43. — **State apparatus.**

Group of various social implements thanks to which one or several classes exercises its (or their) domination

over other classes. In Kamerun, the State apparatus of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie and its accomplices, comprises mainly of : the single party, the NCU, and its annexes which are the single trade-union UNTC, the women organization OFUNC, the youth organization JUNC (all are government-controlled) ; then the official press, radios under government command, the Army, the various sorts of police (DIRDOC and BMM), justice serving the bourgeoisie, a group of civil servants whom the high-ranking are corrupted, a parson's nose National Assembly, etc...

This apparatus has been purposely built to serve the bourgeoisie. Workers, poor peasants and democrats together, struggle and must fight for the overthrowing of this regime and its fundamentally anti-popular State apparatus. They must break and destroy this apparatus and replace it with a POPULAR STATE APPARATUS, in the hands and service of the mass of the Kamerunian People.

— Page 25. See Part I, Point 16, and Part II, Chapters 1 and 2.

44. — **Historical Agent.**

Person, group or institution, or any social force whatever, whom objectives conditions of the society development bring, in a given period, to accomplish a given social task. Sometimes, this task can even be accomplished « unconsciously » by such a historical agent. The European bourgeoisie was the historical agent for the solution to the national problem in Europe in the 19th century, during the period of free competitive capitalism. The basis of all that dwelt in the willingness of each bourgeoisie, and the necessity for it to dispose of a national market in order to « freely » develop capitalism. When capitalism was developed to the stage of monopolies, to imperialism, then the imperialist bourgeoisie played the

part of historical agent in the economic integration of the whole world into a single economic system, a single capitalist world market. Until the appearance of the socialist camp broke the reign without-sharing of capitalism.

— Page **25.**

45. — **Unequal Treaties.**

These are Treaties, Agreements, signed between a dominating country and another one dominated by the former. In this sort of « agreement between sovereignly independent countries », despite outside deception of equality, the dominating country IMPOSES ITS LAW on the dominated country. An example. According to the « Franco-Kamerunian Co-operation Agreements » in matters of finance, Kamerun belongs to the Franc Zone. Inside this zone, free capital circulation is a basic rule. That is to say, money goes from Kamerun to France without any restrictions, and conversely, from France, without any limitation, it goes towards Kamerun. Already, this equality is only theoretical. Because the French companies installed in Kamerun don't have their counter-parts in France (Kamerunian companies). But as well, it is easy for anyone to realize, by going to a French bank, that the amount of transfer of funds from France to Kamerun is limited, except of course for the imperialists who are going to « invest » in order to exploit the Kamerunian workers. And then, the amount of profits that they transfer each year to France isn't in the least limited. The Treaty signed by the NCU clique of Ahidjo Birawandu is therefore perfectly unequal. See for example in cultural matters : sale of French musical trash in Kamerun without any limitation, broadcasting on Kamerunian radio, and IN RETURN, in France, ... NOTHING. Except, from time to time, a piece of neo-colonialism griots.

— Page **27.**

## 46. — Mode of Production.

The basis of all human society is the PRODUCTION of the necessaries for the existence of man. During this production and the exchange of products material and human forces are put to work : these are productive forces. On the same way, relations, of equality or inequality, are established between men, owing to their position in the production and the exchange of products. Thus, relations between the capitalist and the worker, or between the share-cropper and the agricultural labourer on the one hand and the rich peasant on the other hand, or between the poor peasant and the land-owner, etc... **What people produce, the way they produce it, and the manner in which they possibly exchange things produced, all this defines a « MODE OF PRODUCTION ».** In this sense, there is therefore no society without a mode of production, because it would be a society where nothing is produced, therefore where people don't EXIST. Because people cannot exist without producing the necessaries for their EXISTENCE. The fact that pre-colonial African societies' modes of production are not very well known, doesn't mean that there weren't any. On the other hand, the slavery, feudal and capitalist modes of production are quite well known.

— Page 27. See also Notes 6 (page 115) and 16 (page 121).

## 47. — Proletarian, Semi-proletarian.

The **proletarian** is a worker who only possesses, in order to produce, his work force. When proletarians find sale of their work force on the employment market, this force increases the bourgeois' wealth. If not, proletarians are reduced to unemployment and the capitalists try to intoxicate them with fine speeches. That is the case specially during crises which periodically shake

capitalism. The whole of proletarians form what is called the **proletariat.**

The **semi-proletarian** is not « completely » proletarian. It's a labourer who can even be a worker, but who, « on the side », has also « a small business » (plantation, land, renting a house, ...). Or else at certain times he is an artisan. He can also be seasonal or part-time worker, etc...

— Page 27.

48. — **Means of production.**

These are implements, means and methods used to produce that which the society needs to ensure the existence of its members. Amongst means of production, one also puts the place where production is made (factories, sea, land, ...). **The fact that a small minority of people, the bourgeois, seized upon the main means of production, by taking them with violence, ruse and theft from their initial owners, is one of the basos of capitalism (the capitalist mode of production). The other base being that human work force has also become a MERCHANDISE like any other, which is bought and sold for a price called WAGE. It is therefore IMPOSSIBLE to end capitalism without ABOLISHING THE BOURGEOIS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION.** All other conditions can only be fulfilled if this one is fulfilled. Because the social force of the bourgeoisie finds its foundation in this private ownership of means of production, even if this force is dressed up in various ways.

— Page 27. See also Note 46.

49. — **Means of exchange.**

Implements and methods used to ensure the exchange and circulation of that which is produced by the society,

between its members. This expression is also applied to the infrastructure owing to which exchange is practised (roads, railways, etc...). It also applies to monetary symbols (coins, notes, cheques, etc...) which facilitate and accelerate the circulation of what is exchanged.

— Page 27. See also Note 46.

50. — **Work Force.**

Human energy consumed by a worker in the execution of a given task (example : produce case upon case of Beaufort beer, or unload a boat full of whisky for the NCU pot-bellied bourgeois). In capitalist society, work force is a merchandise, which is bought and sold like any other merchandise. But this merchandise has the particular property to produce more value than it costs the capitalist. The supplementary value produced by work force is capitalist SURPLUS-VALUE. This surplus-value is pocketed by the capitalist for nothing, without any per contra. This extortion of surplus-value from the workers is the foundation of the pursuit of the capitalist mode of production.

— Page 27. See also Note 6.

51. — **Land-owner.**

Person possessing huge land areas on which he makes peasants without land, and agricultural labourers, work. Sometimes also, land is let, for example to capitalists who pay a rent. The activities of land-owners are the source of scandalous profits from the People's backs. The land-owner is the accomplice to the capitalist (bourgeois) in the theft of the surplus-value from proletarians.

— Page 28.

52. — **Agro-industrial concerns.**

It is a concern which treats agricultural produce (coffee, cocoa, palm-cabbage, palm-oil, tea, etc...) with various sorts of machines. The goal is to fabricate products whlch are, either more readily consumed or easier to sell. Such a concern is at the same time in agriculture (through the often direct origin ot its raw materials), and in Industry (by its transformation methods of the received products). This explains the qualificative AGRO-INDUSTRIAL. Example : the CDC or Cameroon Development Corporation, the SOCAPALM or Cameroon Palm-oil Soclety...

— Page 28.

53. — **Proletarianize, Proletarianization.**

Proletarianization is the transformation of a larger and larger part of the population into proletarians. This social movement is an inevitable consequence (at the same time a condition) of the very development of capitalism. In fact, the development of capitalism pushes it to invade without cease more and more extensive sectors of social economy, starting with the largest of all at the begining : agriculture.

Proletarianization of peasants and artisans is at present going on in Kamerun. Thousands of peasants are obliged to leave their land, either because it has been brutally seized, or because it has been taked from by ruse, by the neo-colonial bourgeoisie and its friends the agro-industrial foreign companies. Here is a ruse which is more and more developed : the NCU government voted a so-called « Land Tenure Law ». According to thls law, every landowner must register his land at the Property Department. If not, his rights to ownership are not legally recognized. As in the majority of villages, land is often still considered to belong to all the clan, the pot-bellied NCU bour-

geois arrives and declares to his uncles, cousins and other family members : « Well, I am going to register our land ». He offers around several litres of wine, food and there's a party. Afterwards, he goes to register the land IN HIS NAME. From then on, he is the ONLY LEGAL OWNER of that land. Such are the gangsterist practices of the new neo-colonial bourgeoisie.

— Page 29.

54. — **Industrial Reserve Army.**

Mass of people able to work and just asking to work, but whom the capitalists hold unemployed. Thus, the capitalists keep these people « in reserve », to be used as blackmail against the workers. Because, if the workers ask for a wage-rise, or better working conditions, the bourgeois reply to them with arrogance : « if you' re not happy, there are thousands of unemployed who are waiting, and are just asking to take your place ». In this way, the willingness of the workers to struggle can be blunted. This is what the NCU does when it lays off workers on strike in order to take on unemployed workers. In this way, not only does it permanently scare the worker, but also it divides the proletarians : the unemployed against those who have a job.

— Page 29.

55. — **Capitalist relations.**

These are inevitable social relations, established between members of the various classes of capitalist society. These relations are **necessary beyond the willingness of each particular individual. They are objective in this sense.** In this way, relations between the lamido from Rey-Bouba and the poor peasants whom he exploits with the approval of the NCU, are not the same as those between the fac-

tory workers and the capitalist employer. The former are more « personal », the domination more « personalized », whereas the capitalist doesn't even know workers in his factory in the majority of cases, even though he doesn't hesitate in calling them « my workers ». This distinction comes from the fact that **each mode of production presents its own production and social relations. Because these production relations « correspond to a degree of a determined development of material productive forces »** (Karl Marx).

— Page 30. See also Notes 6, 16 and 46.

56. — **Lamibé (singular : Lamido).**

Lamibe form the dominant feudal class in North Kamerun, in alliance with the bureaucratic neo-colonial bourgeoisie. All these people agree perfectly in the NCU, to exploit, without restraint, the overwhelming majority of the populaton in this part of our country. The lamibe social system (« lamidat », in French) is fundamentally of feudal character, analogue to what can be found in much reactionary countries which use the Muslim religion to deceive the workers, and to keep them in obscurantism and under exploitation. Ahidjo has found a remarkable ally in this system which he will never attack, in spite of empty speeches on the necessity to « modernize archaic structures ». He only is dreaming the following : « as long as the population doesn't think of moving, of uprising, all is very well ».

— Page 30. See Notes 6 and 16.

57. — **Land speculation.**

Group of mean calculations and schemes that landowners, capitalist speculators and other pot-bellied bourgeois do, in order to extort the maximum of illicit profits

from the purchase, sale, mortgage, and other commercial operations concerning land. Land speculation is one of the favourite activities (with orgies and lewdness) to which the Kamerunian neo-colonial bourgeois indulge in. In this activity, they crush with neither law nor religion the small people. And even among themselves, all dirty tricks are allowed.

— Page 30.

58. — **World capitalist market.**

The capitalist countries of Europe and America, and first of all the biggest amongst them, have spread their capitalist relations over the whole world. This extention started furthermore from the period of the arise of capitalism in Europe. Today, besides Socialist countries (to a certain measure) all countries are integrated, on an international level, in a unique economic and commercial system : there exist one unique market. This unique system is founded on an international division of work, and at the same time perpetuates this division of work. In that framework, the countries from the so-called « Third World », always purchase from Europe and America, and more and more expensively, merchandises that are fabricated in imperialist countries. Whilst on their side, these countries « on the way to underdevelopment » can only sell at ridiculous prices the raw materials necessary to imperialist countries in order to continue their production. Thus, the present world capitalist market and system, systematically and methodically organize the plundering of the Third World, and perpetuate and worsen underdevelopment. In spite of all these clear and distinct truths, imperialists and African neo-colonial bourgeoisies go on telling lies on the so-called « marvelous qualities of the world capitalist market ».

— Page 31.

59. — **Economic integration.**

Phenomenon which appeared in all its volume with the development of capitalism, especially at its imperialist stage, favoured by the development of communications and exchanges, and by the forming of a unique market. Economic integration on world level is characterized by the development of the similitude of production conditions, of social relations which derive from it. On a general level, it comes out as a necessity to constitute an economic entirety big enough for the production of a group of countries. It has obviously a class character. The capitalist economic integration is not of the same nature as that of socialist countries. In the first case, the strongest countries try to impose their interests, which is not the case in economic integration between socialist countries. In a neo-colonial economic integration like the UDEAC (Kamerun, Congo-B, Gabon, CentrAfrican Republic), the neo-colonialists continue the control the entirety and, consequently, the Peoples don't gain on anything. As long as the French neo-colonialists (or others) control an attempt at economic integration like UDEAC, this cannot lead to African Unity.

— Page 32.

60. — **Objective Conditions.**

Conditions that are independent from the opinion, intentions or « goodwill » of this or that particular individual. For example, leaving conditions of the workers in the capitalist system don't depend on the intentions, good or bad, of this or that capitalist employer taken aside. On the whole, these conditions are given with the system, **and they can only really change in the aggregate with the change of the system in itself.** Even if there are small « improvements » here and there, for this or that category of workers, or even for all the working class, the

truth will remain that the workers are in poverty, and the bourgeois enjoy themselves non-stop.

Objective conditions also appear as a set of elements which determine a situation. These elements are sometimes facts (objective facts). They are opposed to subjective conditions. Example : conditions created by neo-colonial exploitation are objective as such that they lead to a social revolution. Ahidjo's bad NCU policy creates objective conditions for the development of criminality. No moralizing assessment can do anything about it. Even laws can't do anything. The NCU policy, the way in which the whole system is built are such that they create objective conditions for the beginning, development and permanence of corruption in this regime. This doesn't depend on any personal honesty nor an individual dishonesty, of this or that civil servant taken aside : it is the system which secretes, makes corruption in a way. We have already seen enough people who were « honest » at the beginning and who become villain of the deepest dye gangsters once they got in the NCU bourgeois clique.

— Page 32. See also Note 15 (page 120).

61. — **Panafricanization.**

It is the development or the extension of a local or national data into an African one. When a situation in some African countries tends to become more and more extended with the same characteristics, in a great number of African countries, one can speak of Pan-Africanization of that situation.

The trend to Pan-Africanization, or shortly « Pan-Africanization », is favoured by the capitalism itself. This phenomenon principally appears in the process of standardization of the conditions of production, of exchange, and of living of the proletariat as well as of the African neo-

colonial bourgeoisie. In so far as Pan-Africanization emphasizes especially the unification of the employment market (for instance, inside UDEAC, workers can move from a country to another ; see also the movement of Senegalese workers to Gabon, or elsewhere, of the Voltaïcs to Ivory Coast, see also the same movement in East and South Africa), in that case, Pan-Africanization indicates a trend to the unification of the African proletariat. This is an objective trend. It doesn't depend anymore on the individual willingness of anybody. In that conditions, the terms of the development of capitalism commands the process of Pan-Africanization.

— Page 32.

62. — **Revolutionary Pan-Africanism**

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is the ideology and the strategy of the African struggle for the complete liberation and unification of Africa, which is the indispensable conditions of progress, development, well-being and peace in the Continent.

Pan-Africanization of the working class and the poor peasants of the Continent on the one side, and the deep cultural unity of the African Peoples on the other side, are the objective basis of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

The basic thesis of the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is the following : « **AFRICA MUST POLITICALLY UNITE** ». **We need a unique great African State, a Union of the Socialist Republics of Africa** ; because only such a State could allow the African Peoples, to get rid of any domination and to regain their dignity and their independence which have been scoffed for more than 500 years. Revolutionary Pan-Africanism proclaims and stresses out that the so-called Organization of African Unity (the OAU) is unable to realize the Unity of Africa ; worse than all, the OAU doesn't want to realize that Unity. The OAU doesn't

do anything but trying to fool the African Peoples while it has already failed shamefully.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism lays down the following principle that, **there can be a real and total emancipation of Africa only within Socialism.** The central keynote policy of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, which advocates the struggle for a **UNION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF AFRICA**, is not only the absolute and necessary condition for a genuine socialist edification and, consequently, for an authentic emancipation of Africa.

It is also the obligatory condition for a genuine and true rehabilitation and blooming of the Negro race. This rehabilitation and this blooming of a race which has been oppressed and discriminated for more than 500 years, will stay fancy wishes and more or less hypocritical so far as a powerful African Negro State, with continental or semi-continental size will not have been built. An African Negro State that will be able to hoist itself in a few decades at the peak of the latest human scientific and technological achievements. In that case, there is an indissoluble and necessary link between the conception of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism and that of **Socialist Pan-Nigrism.** This last conception calls to the international struggle of the Niggers, against racial domination, any form of racism, (including the one which is to simulate not to know the existence of a racial oppression in order to avoid a real change) against imperialism and for Socialism.

— Page 32.

63. — **Communist International.**

International Revolutionary centralized organization, founded by workers' revolutionary organizations from the whole World in 1919. The setting-up of the Communist

International (the Komintern) was favoured by the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, and the revolutionary effervescence provoked in Europe by the poverty of the masses due to World War I (1914-1918). It is also called the Third International, as it was preceded by two international workers' organizations.

The first was the International Association of the Workers, founded in 1864 and in which Karl MARX and Friedrich ENGELS participated. This lasted about 9 years. Bourgeois repression following the defeat of « La Commune de Paris » (see note 1) gave the signal to the ending of the IAW.

In 1889, the Second International was founded in Paris. It regularly convened international Congresses. It contributed to the mass organization of workers' parties. It wasn't called « communist », but gathered the various parties which were associated with Scientific Socialism. But, in 1914, the opportunists sabotaged the International which therefore sank into failure. Because many socialist parties sided with the camp of « their » imperialist bourgeoisie in order to go and plunder others' countries. Instead of taking advantage of the war and popular discontent brought about by poverty owing to the war, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to set up the workers' power and start transition towards Socialism. The Bolshevik Party of Russia followed the revolutionary line and denounced the failure of the Second International. Lenin spoke in its name and launched the watchword : « The Second International is dead, vanquished by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International... ». This happened in November 1914. In March 1919, the Third International was founded in Moscow. In order to be clearly distinguished from the former one, it named itself the « Communist International » (abreviated : Komintern).

The parties which refused to follow the revolutionary line continued in the Second International which became the present Socialist International, the Social-Democrat International in which you can find people like « the Latin socialist » Senghor, or the arab socialists Sadate, Bourguiba...

At the present time, there doesn't exist any representative Communist International. Because during World War II (1939-1945), the Third International was dissolved. From time to time, Communist Parties from the whole World or only from Europe convene in Conferences.

— Page 32. See notes 21, 22 and 24.

64. — **Marxism-Leninism.**

See note 1, pages 109 to 111.

— Page 34.

65. — **Bourgeois private ownership.**

Buying up by the bourgeoisie of the main means of production and exchange in capitalist society. When revolutionaries talk of abolishing private ownership, it doesn't mean for example private ownership of each person's clothes, or tooth-breaches, or beds, as the bourgeois often try to make out in order to scare the small people and to train them against Socialism. It means that ownership which gives to the bourgeois the economic force thanks to which they transform society in order to put it at their service, otherwise said, they hold political force also. That private ownership is the private ownerhip **of means of production and exchange :** factories, banks, large plantations, etc...

— Page 34. See also notes 7 and 48.

66. — **The entire People collective ownership.**

Form of ownership which will be set up by the socialist revolution, as from the beginning of the Transition to Socialism, at least for the essential means of production and exchange. This is what is forecast in the present Transition Programme. The main means of production and exchange (factories, land, banks, means of transport and communication...) then become the common ownership of the Kamerunian People. They cease to belong to a particular individual whomsoever. From this fact, the basic condition is created (non sufficient but absolutely necessary) for the disappearance of exploitation. **To get to this, the workers must absolutely start by properly expropriating the bourgeois**, snatching these means of production and exchange that the bourgeois have stolen away from the peasants for example through ruses, llies or sometimes by force. **This expropriation must absolutely be the first decision of the workers' and peasants' Revolution after its victory. Without expropriation of the bourgeois, no real transition to Socialism is possible. Revolution turns rapidly to verbiage, and finally, not much time is necessary for the bourgeoisie to once more get hold of the power and re-establish capitalism and exploitation of the workers, peasants, and other labourers.**

— Page 34. See notes 7 and 48.

67. — **Social relations.**

Relations which are necessarily established between individuals living in the same given society. These relations essentially depend on production, on **what is produced, the way in which it is produced as well as the way the produced things are exchanged.**

— Page 34. See also notes 46 and 55.

68. — **State in the hands of workers.**

According to the bourgeois conception of the State, this can only be in the hands of « very strong-minded people », intellectuals who are « doctors of doctorates » for example, or « big guys ».

In fact, an attentive observation of State and its functioning, its laws and its mechanisms, clearly shows that **the State is nothing else but an instrument, a machine set up by one class to dominate another or other classes. The bourgeois state serves the interests of bourgeoisie and crushes the workers, peasants and other labourers. In order that workers really liberate themselves, they must therefore destroy this bourgeois State. But the bourgeois are going to revolt, make counter-revolutionary plots, sabotages, with help of imperialism. Therefore, if the workers want really to keep power in order to avoid falling back once more into capitalist exploitation, they must also build their own State. This will be in their hands and at their service. That is the State in the hands of the workers.**

— Page 34. See notes 1 and 69.

69. — **Proletariat Dictatorship.**
**Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship.**

In every society of classes, the State is the dictatorship instrument of a class or an alliance of classes, dictatorship which is exercised on one class or on other classes. Bourgeois democracy is really a dictatorship exercised by the bourgeoisie over the workers. This dictatorship is dressed up sometimes in various ways, more or less democratic, or more or less brutal, but it remains fundamentally a dictatorship of the bourgeois class.

In the same way, when the working class overthrows the bourgeoisie, it edifies a State for the transition to communism. This state, as an instrument of dictatorship against the overthrown bourgeoisie and all the exploiters, IS NECESSARY for a very simple reason. The reason is that the overthrown bourgeois and the exploiters will never accept, without flinching, being overthrown and dispossessed of their enormous wealth they had before their overthrown. They will therefore start plotting in order to try to get back into power. So the workers will be in the necessity to impose the new way of things to the exploiters of yesterday, by means of a State apparatus equally dictatorial. « **So, if one dictatorship is overthrown, that of the bourgeoisie, to replace it by another, that of the workers, where is the difference ?** ».

This question has often been asked by many Kamerunian patriots. And the UPC has ansvered to it several times.

**Anyway, the difference is the following one : the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is exercised by a small minority (NCU bourgeois) against an OVERWHELMING majority of the population (workers, peasants, other labourers in towns and villages...). A small handful of persons lead a hard life to millions of people. Whereas the proletariat dictatorship will be that of millions of people against a small handful of bourgeois exploiters. And besides, only those who will not keep quiet, who will carry on wanting to get back into power with capitalism in the saddle, will see the dictatorship of the workers and all the labourers exercised against them. Such is THE GREAT DIFFERENCE between the two sorts of dictatorship. It is a CLASS DIFFERENCE.**

In the case of Kamerun, the working class is not able to exercise power alone. It must become allied with the

poor peasantry and other labourers firmly acquired to the idea of a transition to socialism. The new State will be therefore, after the victory of the MANIDEM guided by the UPC, not a proletariat dictatorship on its own, but proletariat allied with poor peasantry and the other working masses. This will be therefore a democratic State for more than 99 % of the people, and dictatorial for less than 1 % of reactionary bourgeois. **This will be a state of REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP.**

— Page 34.

70. — **Fascist.**

A fascist is a supporter of fascism and the method of government which derives from such a system.

Fascism is based on dictatorship and is mainly characterized by the suppression of political freedoms and trade-union rights, and by the use of military and police terror against the People. Exhalting the role of the chief, establishing a single party state, these are the main features but not indispensable of fascism. All fascists always avail themselves of having the support of the whole population which, under the pressure of terror can give the impression of agreeing with the regime and supporting « the President ». The fascist government generally compells the workers not to see beyond what they consider (sometimes wrongly) as their immediate and corporative interests. Its aims are to make the workers resign themselves blindly to the fascist policy.

Here are some fascist regimes, besides the Kamerunian regime of Ahidjo Birawandu : Germany under Hitler, Italy under Mussolini, Spain under Franco, Portugal under Salazar and Caetano, Iran under the shah, Chile under Pinochet, Brazil, Argentina, and other dictatorships of

South America, the dictatorships of the racist settlers' white minority in Southern Africa and, of course, most of the OAU regimes.

In fact, fascism is nothing else but one of the forms that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie can take on. The bourgeoisie has recourse on fascism when it reaches the point where it cannot continue to ly « democratically » the workers, within a regime which is almost free.

The NCU regime in Kamerun has always been fascist from its beginning. Most of its laws come directly from the laws which have been used by the old fascist European regimes.

— Page 35.

71. — **Autocratic.**

An autocratic regime is a regime where just only one man (the autocrat) holds all the principal powers in his own hands and governs as an absolute king (a monarch). Ahidjo Birawandu's regime is in no doubt autocratic. Even the head clerks are appointed by the autocrat himself. Nothing is done without his full agreement.

In neo-colonial countries, this complete centralization of power is indeed a clever way of insuring one's political domination over the country by manipulating the dictator. In 9 cases out of 10, « the almighty » autocrat is in fact a lick-spittle of foreign masters. Only when such a puppet is swept away by the storm of the people revolt will everybody start confessing that the dictator was really nothing else but a slavish tool serving the subtle domination of his imperialist masters.

— Page 35.

72. — **Class character.**

Whole of properties possessed by a society or a social group from the fact of the division of the society into social classes. Everything carries the mark of the various classes, from the fact that they take up a permanent struggle. And more precisely, everything carries, as a dominant aspect, the mark of the dominating class or classes.

In capitalist society, school has a class character as the bourgeois children have better chances to study than the children of the workers, peasants and people of small means. It has also a class character as the contents of education (what is taught) repeatedly expresses the conception of the world of the bourgeoisie. It has again a class character in relations between teachers and pupils, which relations consist on a certain domination **of** the formers on the latters, exactly as in the capitalist society. Justice has a class character as one is judged according to if he is bourgeois or not. Etc...

— Page 38.

73. — **Obscurantism.**

In political language, obscurantism is a policy which has for effect to keep the people, as deep as possible, in ignorance from the true facts, of the achievements accomplished by society and by humanity in general. Such a policy, qualified as obscurantism often uses, for example, the weight of traditions in order to prevent that the people become aware of what is modern and positive.

The NCU policy on women's liberation is fundamentally obscurantist. It is also obscurantist on education or religion matters...

— Page 40.

74. — **Bambara, Haussa, Lingala, Kiswahili.**

Bambara is an African language spoken in Western Africa, particularly in Mali.

Haussa is an African language spoken particularly in Northern Nigeria but also beyond this country, in the boarding states. Haussa is generally considered as the second language in Africa. Some estimate that nearly 50 millions people speak Haussa, which makes it a widely known language.

Lingala is a language which is widely known in the bassin of Congo River in Congo-Lumumba as well as in the Popular Republic of Congo.

Kiswahili, or Swahili, is the FIRST LANGUAGE OF AFRICA. Spoken by over 100 million people in Africa, roughly covering East and Central Africa, and even a large part of Southern Africa. Swahili is considered as one of the 12 most important languages in the world. It is already the national language in some African countries (Kenya, Tanzania). Therefore, one can only be amazed at the strange position of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has not yet been able to decide to make Swahili one of its work languages.

— Page 47.

75. — **Productive work.**

In capitalist society, any work that produces capitalist surplus-value is considered as productive. Ranked above all as productive work : work from factory-workers and agricultural workers. But also ranked is the work from transport-workers (railway workers, dockers and others). For even when the merchandise is produced, the capitalist only REALIZES his surplus value when the merchan-

dise is marketed and sold. In the case of KAMERUN, the work from exploited peasants without land cannot be considered as non productive.

— Page 50.

76. — **Satrap.**

**Colloquial sense :** a despotic man, a despot. A satrap Is a man whose powers are very wise and arbitrary. And also a man living a somptuous life.

**Usual :** the word « satrap » comes from the ancient Persian empire (the State which was on the present Iran). So, in ancient Persia, the provinces were called « satrapia » ; each province was governed by a governor called a satrap. These satraps had very large civil and judiciary powers, and used to live in pomp, lewdness and corruption.

That is why governors, prefects and other high-ranking civil servants of the NCU regime remind the Persian satraps and merit to be called by this word.

— Page 51.

77. — **Leftism.**

Political tendency which generally accompanies a Revolutionary Movement and is in **fact** a deviation which can be very serious. It is generally characterized by an extraordinary allergy to any compromise. **Leftists are literarily unaware of any tactical consideration. They imagine that it is sufficient to know where to go, and to repeat it nonstop, in order to have already reached the destination.** Under the pretext of making IMMEDIATELY THE RRREVOLUTION (with 3 R's !), they don't understand that **it is sometimes necessary to draw back in order to jump better.**

If a leftist sees a mango on a mango-tree, in order to get the fruit, he will try to « take off vertically for the mango », under the pretext that he must get there right away. He won't understand for example the wise attitude of he who will search to find for example a ladder to climb the mago-tree. For the leftist, « that will be a waste of time, when one can spontaneously pick the mango ».

Generally, Leftism partisans come from the petty-bourgeois spheres. From this derives their impatience, as they dream of assisting in person to the victory of the Revolution, and they would like to hasten the course of things.

The leftists' behaviour reminds that of children, and this made Lenin say that Leftism is « the infantile disease of communism ».

— Page 53.

78. — **Planning (Economic Planning).**

Roughly speaking, one can define **Economic Planning** in the following way. It is the branch of Science the subject of which is to forecast a development as rational as possible of the Economy. For this purpose, it uses particularly the technics of forecasting based on Mathematics, Statistics and Operational Research, etc...

But the very conditions for an Economy to be plannified lead to distinguish the Socialist Planning (the only one really possible) from what people call, in fact wrongly, Capitalist Planning (or Planning in a market Economy).

In a capitalist Economy, basic economic decisions are in fact taken by individual economic agents (for example, individual capitalists), to a large extent. Such a situation inevitably leads to anarchy in production and in social sharing out of what is produced. Therefore, it is really

impossible to speak of any Planning policy. That's why genuine Planning only appeared with Socialism, first in USSR, and after, in the other socialist countries.

Briefly speaking, **Socialist Planning** can be defined as follows. It is « a collective activity, by which the workers in a socialist country (or a country in Transition), basing their reflexion on the objective economic rules, decide in a coordinated way, the targets to achieve in the production and consumption fields on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the way of achieving these targets in the best conditions. In order that this be possible, the community as a whole must control the means of production and exchange, at least the essential part of these means. »

Socialist Planning therefore requires that the workers be mobilized, and that they be those who decide, either directly or through their representatives, and then, take part in the execution of the decisions.

Consequently, such a Planning policy is impossible in a society where the workers are oppressed, dominated, as in the capitalist society.

As for the NCU empty slogans like « planned liberalism », not only these are glaring lies, but they also prove, if need was, that the big-bellied bourgeois don't understand anything on what they are speaking.

— Page 67.

79 — **Primary product of firms, Social Product.**

By **Social Product**, one means the quantity of commodities produced by the society during a determined time, for instance one year, one month, ...

The value of this social product contains 3 components n capitalist soclety :

1°/ Constant capital C, which is the value of the producted commodities coming from the use of the engines and the whole plant. In fact, in a piece of commodities, a part of the value comes, through a « transfer », from the value of the engines and tools, raw materials, etc..., which are used to make out this new piece of commodities. The engines wear out and their value progressively goes in the goods producted.

2°/ Variable capital V, which is the value of the wages, the value of the work force of the workers whose work has made out the new piece of commodities.

3°/ The surplus-value pl, which is the « extra » value, the excess of the value that the additional work (in regard of the salary which is paid by the capitalist) of the worker brings to this good.

The **Primary product of a firm** is the value of the whole quantity of goods which is produced during a precise time, terms net cash of the cost of the production and eventually of the distribution. As opposed to « Net Product », which is what remains after having deducted all the costs from the primary product.

— Pages 76, 77.

80. — **Malthus.**

Thomas Robert MALTHUS (1766-1834) was an English clergyman and economist. He invented a theory which made him famous. Malthus claimed to have discovered that the population grows quicker than the quantity of available food to nourish people. This, he concluded, is the reason why poverty can only go on growing. For this reason, he recommended birth-control in the working classes, as a remedy to poverty brought on through capitalism.

Since then, the name Malthusianism, or the qualificative Malthusian, are given to any policy claiming to resolve social problems by restriction measures. Thus, one speaks of a Malthusian Education policy when, instead of building a great amount of schools or creating jobs for the young leaving school, the government claims on the contrary to limit school entries, supposedly to avoid schooling unemployed graduates. This is what the NCU does. **The Slave-traders, neo-colonialists and all sorts of reactionaries and racialists bring out once more, Malthus' theories, the falsehood of which have been proved since for a long time.** The truth is that they are afraid of an adequated peopled Africa. They shout everywhere that Africans must practice birth-control. All these absurdities are taken up by the African neo-colonial bourgeoisies for their own account.

— Page 86.

81. — **Universal Culture.**

Glaring neo-colonialist lie set up by the imperialists in an attempt to deceive the African Peoples. The aim of this lie is to convince the African Peoples that they must not struggle for their OWN CULTURE. Because, supposedly, in our time, all countries bathe in the same culture : « universal culture ». The chief parrot for this infamous deception in Africa is Léopold Germanicus Senghor, the man who writes to the Pope in Latin, but who holds African languages in supreme contempt.

The imperialists decimated the Indians of America. They have tried to destroy the African Peoples' cultures. After having committed all these crimes and other countless ones, they now come to tell their victims to « forget all that », and sell themselves to THE ONLY CULTURE which exists and which has always existed : the so-called « universal culture ». For this infamous task, they have recruited

**the illusion-monger Senghor, the man who probably carries a complexe of his skin,** claims that he is Afro-Portuguese and who. in order to give proof of fidelity to his imperialist masters, support all neo-colonialist manœuvres..

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82. — **Economism.**

Political theory which claims that change in society can be mainly (if not uniquely) achieved by the way of economic reforms. This often leads to under-estimating the fundamental importance of political struggles, sometimes straightforwardly denying the necessity of any revolutionary struggle.

Economist theses concerning African Unity consist of claiming that Unity, in order to be built, must first of all start by economic methods, by ways of economic unity. In reality, practice proves that, for more than 15 years, these « theories » DON'T LEAD TO ANY AFRICAN UNITY at all.

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83. — **French Military Mission.**

Group of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers that the French imperialists have sent to our country since the 1960 formal independence. This authentic expeditionary force had as mission to wage against the UPC and all patriots, a war of extermination of nationalist and revolutionary militants. At one time, this expeditionary force amounted to several battalions and was commanded by a French general. Later on, when the French Military Mission has trained the neo-colonial « Cameroonian Army » for repression, and were in perfect control at the

wheels, the imperialists were able to limit their effectives in our country. The Mission amounted then essentially to officers who control all the sore points in the Kamerunian military device. Officially, these officers are « technical advisors of the French technical assistance ». THIS SITUATION PREVAILS TODAY. In reality, this « reorganization » of the French military device in Kamerun, is not a true retreating. Because the French imperialists have simply withdrawn their troups on to French territory which they can speedily send in a few hours to any African operations seat. Several examples of French neocolonialist interventions in Africa in these last years clearly prove it.

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